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RAISING FROM A TENSED CLAUSE IN MAITHILI ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR BINDING AND CASE THEORIES

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Introduction

Maithili has a rule which is analogous to the Raising-to-Subject rule of English. We refer to this rule as Subject-to-Subject Raising. The rule in question has the following interesting property. This Maithili rule raises the subject of a *tensed* embedded clause, whereas the English Raising-to-Subject rule raises to the matrix subject position the subject of a *tenseless* embedded clause. Obviously, the NP-trace in the former case apparently violates one of the principles of UG proposed in Chomsky (1981), viz., the binding principle for anaphors, since it is *not* bound in its governing category. We demonstrate, however, that the NP-trace *does* obey the binding principle. What is required here is to investigate this fact from the perspective of the parametric variation that distinguishes Maithili-type languages from non-Maithili-type languages.

This article consists of three sections. In the first section we analyze the raising constructions in Maithili. In the second section we present arguments in support of the rule of Subject-to-Subject Raising in Maithili. In the third section we make certain theoretical proposals to facilitate the application of binding principle (A) for the antecedent/ NP-trace relation in Maithili.

The Phenomenon

As noted above, by the rule of Subject-to-Subject Raising, the subject of a tensed embedded clause is optionally raised to the empty subject NP position (viz., [NP_e]) in the matrix clause. The rule applies only if the matrix predicate is a member of the class known as "raising predicates", e.g. *seem*-type verbs. Such verbs in Maithili includes *lagnai*, *bujhenai*, *pratit bhenai*, and the like, all of which mean "to seem".¹ Consider the structures in (1):

- (1) (i) [S [NP^e] lagaet aich [S" ' je [S" [S' [S'
seems
[S ahā āi ghar nai jā sakab]]]]
- you today home not go can
"It seems that you cannot go home today."
- (ii) [S [NPahāi] lagaet chi [S"je [S" [S' [S'
āi ghar nai ja sakab]]]]
"You seem not to be able to go home today."

In (1), the rule takes structure (i) as its input and derives structure (ii) by preposing the embedded subject *ahā* to the empty subject position in the matrix clause.

Like all syntactic rules within the REST framework (Chomsky and Lasnik 1977), this rule too is optional. Thus, if the rule applies, we derive structures like (1i). It is interesting to note that (1i) can surface as a perfectly acceptable sentence even if the matrix subject (viz. [NP^e]) position is unfilled. Besides, we can have another option as well: [NP^e] position may optionally be filled by *i* ("it")². For this option, we postulate a rule of *i*-insertion like *it*-insertion in English. The operation of the rule turns (1i) into 2):

- (2) [S [NPⁱ] lagaet aich [S" je [S" [S' sahā
āi ghar nai ja sakab]]]]

Evidence

In this section we are going to present some empirical and theoretical motivations for the rule of Subject-to-Subject Raising.

Intuition

The primary evidence for Subject-to Subject Raising is the existence of pairs of sentences like (3i) and (3ii). The NP, which is the subject of the embedded clause in (3i), appears in the subject position of the matrix clause in (3ii):

- (3) (i) lagaet aich je barsa ai nai haet
seems that rain today not will be
"It seems that it will not rain today."
- (ii) barsā lagaet aich je āi nai haet

The native speakers of Maithili intuitively feel that (3i) and (3ii) have a paraphrase relationship. It is, therefore, necessary for an optimal grammar of Maithili to

relate (3i) to (3ii) in some fashion. One plausible way in the GB (Government-Binding) framework is to say that (3ii) is derived from (3i) by raising the embedded subject to the matrix subject position.

Gap

There is a gap in the embedded subject NP position of sentences like (3ii). The gap is indicated by $[NP^e]$ in (4):

(4) barsā lagaet aich je $[NP^e]$ āi nai haet

If the gap is obligatory in (4), then we expect that no lexical NP can appear in $[NP^e]$ position. This expectation holds true, in that the replacement of the empty element e by some lexical NP is barred. This is shown by (5):

(5) *barsa lagaet aich je $[NP \text{ kāj}]$ āi nai haet
work

Furthermore, the empty element is always coreferential with matrix subject *barsa*. Given these observations, there can be two possibilities: $[NP^e]$ is a control PRO (in the sense of Chomsky (1982)) or a trace. PRO is excluded from this position on two theoretical grounds. First, PRO must satisfy the following condition (Chomsky (1981, 1982)),

(6) PRO is ungoverned

Suppose we assume that the subject position of a tensed clause is governed. $[NP^e]$ in (4) is the subject of a tensed clause; so it is governed by our assumption. By condition (6) PRO cannot be governed. Hence, it cannot appear in the governed $[NP^e]$ position.

The second ground that prohibits PRO from appearing in the $[NP^e]$ position of (4) is the requirement that the antecedent of PRO must be in a θ -position; i.e., a position where θ -roles like agent, goal, recipient, etc., can be assigned. The reason is that PRO, unlike trace, does not pass its θ -role to its antecedent. In (4) the antecedent *barsa* appears in a θ -position, since the verb *lagnai*, a *seem*-type verb, does not assign any θ -role to its subject. If we take $[NP^e]$ to be PRO, the matrix subject would not have any θ -role. Thus, the choice of PRO in (4) is ruled out by the Θ -criterion.

The second possibility, namely that $[NP^e]$ is a trace, sounds quite plausible. The

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|------|--|--|----------------|--------|---------|
| (7) | (i) | $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} i \\ \text{PRO} \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ | lagaet | aich | je | ahā |
| | | it-3 | seem | be-Pres+ 3 | that | you |
| | | | gari | nai | pakair | sakab |
| | | | train | not | catch | can |
| | | | "It seems that you cannot catch the t rain." | | | |
| | (ii) | | ahā | lagaet chi | | je gari |
| | | | you 2hon. seem | be-Prest 2hon. | | |
| | | | nai | pakair | sakab | |

empty subject position in a raising construction. But this rule cannot apply if the embedded subject has been raised to the subject position of the matrix clause. Thus, we can have (2) with *i*-insertion and (1ii), involving the raising of the embedded subject to the matrix subject position, but we cannot have (8), which involves both *i*-insertion and raising:

(8)* ahā i lagaet achi je āi ghar nai jā sakab

Note the [NPe] is the matrix subject position and that it can be filled by only one NP. We already know that *i*-insertion takes place within [NPe] position. The only way whereby we can rule out (8) is to assume that the embedded subject is also raised to the same [NPe] position where *i* appears. [NPe] position can allow one of the two elements -- *i* or *ahā* -- to appear within it. Thus, (2) and (1ii) are permissible, while (8) is out. These facts support the stipulation of Subject-to Subject Raising in Maithili raising constructions.

Resumptive Pronoun

This type of raising of the embedded subject cannot be a case of non-local Topicalization/Focussing, since the raised NP cannot be cliticized with the topic/focus marker - *da* ('as to'). This possibility is ruled out for another reason as well. If non-local Topicalization/Focussing moves a NP from an embedded clause to the matrix clause, it leaves behind either a trace *t* or a resumptive pronoun:

- (9) (i) [S" [T... NP_e -da ... [S' [s [NP_e] lagaet aich
seem
[S''' je[S" [S' [S rām ghar par nai
that Ram home at not
chaeth]]]]]]]]
is
"It seems that Ram is not at home."
(ii) [S" [T... NP_i - da ... [S' [S [NP_e] lagaet
aich [S''' je [S" {S' [S<sup>t_i]_{o_i} } ghar par nai
chaeth]]]]]]]]</sup>

But the type of raising we are concerned with does not leave any resumptive pronoun, but just a trace *t*. This is shown by the unacceptability of (10ii):

- (10) (i) $\bar{r}am_i$ lagaet chaeth je t_i ghar par nai chaeth
(ii) * $\bar{r}am_i$ lagaet chaeth je oi ghar par nai chaeth

Furthermore, *i*-insertion, which cannot apply along with the raising in question, is permitted after Non-local Topicalization/Focussing:

- (11) (i) * rām_i i lagaet chaeth je ghar par nai chaeth
(ii) rām_i -da i lagaet aich je (o) ghar par nai chaeth

Notice that in (10i), the verb *chaeth* agrees with *ram* in person and honorificity

(whereas *aich* in (11ii) does not agree with *ram*); hence, it cannot cooccur with *da*-marking, resumptive pronoun, or *i*-insertion. These facts can be explained if we recognize that there are two types of interclausal raising in Maithili, one involving raising-to-Topic/Focus, and the other involving raising-to-subject. The latter process is what we call Subject-to-Subject Raising.

NP-Trace in Maithili and Binding Theory

In this section we show how the binding principle for anaphors holds for Maithili NP-trace, though *prima facie* it appears to be violated.

Theoretical Background

As noted earlier, following the trace theory of movement rules, the rule of Subject-to-Subject Raising preposes the embedded NP subject to the empty matrix subject position and leaves behind a trace t_i which is obviously an NP-trace. (See example (1) in this connection.) The NP-traces in structures like *John_i seems t_i to be happy* are, unlike other traces, locally A-bound and called anaphors.

For the antecedent-anaphor relation, Chomsky (1981) proposes binding principle (A):⁴

(A) An anaphor is bound in its governing category.

Consider the raising constructions in (12) and (13):

- (12) (i) [S₁ [NPe] INFL seem [S₂ John to be tired]]
(ii) [S₁ [NP John_i] INFL seem [S₂ t_i to be tired]]
(13) (i) [S₁ [NPe] INFL seem [S₂ John INFL be tired]]
(ii) [S₁. [NP John_i] INFL seem [S₂ t_i INFL be tired]]

Structures (12ii) and (13ii) are derived from (12i) and (13i), respectively, by NP movement. But the former is acceptable, while the latter is not. The difference in their grammatical status can be explained in terms of binding principle (A). In (12ii) S₁ is the governing category for the NP-trace, since it contains the governor *seem*, the governed element t and the accessible SUBJECT INFL. Since it is bound to *John* in S₁ it obeys binding principle (A). Structure (13ii), on the other hand, does not obey principle (A). In this case S₂ is the governing category for the NP-trace, as it is governed by INFL and has AGR as its accessible SUBJECT. But it is free within S₂, violating binding principle (A).

Problems

Principle (A) of binding theory requires that NP-trace appear only as the subject of an infinitive, as shown in (12ii), but it is excluded from the subject position of a finite clause, as in (13ii). NP-trace in Maithili, however, does appear as the subject of an embedded finite clause in a raising construction, as shown in (1ii), repeated as (14):

- (14) [S [NP $\bar{a}h\bar{a}_i$] lagaet chi [S''' je [S'' [S' {S t_i $\bar{a}_i$ ghar nai $\bar{j}\bar{a}$ sakab }]]]]]

This interesting phenomenon in Maithili raises two important issues for the GB-framework. They are: (i) NP-trace is Case-marked and (ii) though it is locally A-bound and, therefore, an anaphor, it is free in its governing category.

Problem (i) has to do with the theory of Case, which allows an NP-trace to be governed but not Case-marked (so as to avoid Case conflict). For example, the matrix verb *seems* in (15) governs the NP-trace, but it does not assign Case to it.

- (15) John_i seems [S t_i to be sick]

In Maithili structure (14), however, the NP-trace is both governed and Case-marked by the embedded COMP.

The second problem pertains to the violation of binding theory. That is to say, the embedded S''' in (14) contains both the governor (the embedded COMP) and the governed element (NP-trace). (In an earlier study (Yadava 1983)), I have argued that a governing category does not require "accessible Subject" in Maithili-type languages.). It is, therefore, the governing category for the NP-trace. Now, binding principle (A) requires that NP-trace, which is an anaphor, be bound in its governing category. But it is free in the embedded S'''.

Solutions

Both these problems can be resolved if we assume that it is not the embedded COMP but the matrix verb which governs the NP-trace in constructions like (14). Prima facie, the assumption does not seem to fit in the analytical framework we have so far assumed. To illustrate the point, consider the configuration in (16), representing (14):

(16)... α [S''' β ], where α =matrix verb = COMP, and β = NP-trace. In this configuration, α (=matrix verb) cannot govern β (=NP-trace), since S''', a maximal projection, includes β but not α .

Suppose that in Maithili there is an S'''- deletion rule, which may (optionally) apply if the matrix verb is a raising-type. If the rule does not apply, raising-to-subject is prohibited by Case theory, since Case would be assigned to an NP by COMP in both the matrix and embedded subject positions, resulting in Case-conflict. Thus, (11i) is quite acceptable, but the following configuration of (11i) is not permissible (although its surface form is perfectly acceptable):

17 * [S''' COMP [S'' [S' [NP $\bar{a}h\bar{a}_i$] [_{VP} [_V lagaet chi] [S''' [COMP je] [s'' [S' t_i $\bar{a}_i$ ghar nai $\bar{j}\bar{a}$ sakab]]]]]]]]

If S''' deletion rule applies, then (17) changes into (18):

(18) [S''' COMP [S'' [S' [NP $\bar{a}h\bar{a}_i$] [_{VP} [_V lagaet chi Je] [S'' [S' [S' t_i $\bar{a}_i$ ghar nai $\bar{j}\bar{a}$ sakab]]]]]]]]

This causes the complementizer *je* not to bear the COMP function which it would otherwise bear (configurationally, bearing the COMP function depends on having an S''' mother); So *je* loses its COMP node and, being homeless, it is cliticized to the matrix verb (Viz., *lagait chi*). If so, then the matrix verb becomes the nearest eligible governor for the NP-trace. But since the matrix verb is intransitive, it does not Case-mark the NP-trace. Thus, the stipulation of an S'''-deletion rule resolves the first problem we noted: the NP-trace is governed but not Case-marked in (18).

This stipulation also solves the second problem: Given the rule of S''' deletion with raising predicates, the embedded S''' is deleted and no longer remains the governing category for the NP-trace in (18). Now, the only node which can be the possible governing category for the NP-trace is the matrix S'', in that it contains both the governor *lagait chi je* and the NP-trace. In this situation, the NP-trace is locally A-bound to its antecedent *ahā* in its governing category S''. Thus, NP-trace in Maithili satisfies Principle (A) of binding theory and does not remain an exception to the principle of UG, as it appeared earlier.⁵

Summary

To recapitulate, in this article we have analyzed the rule of Subject-to-Subject Raising in Maithili and shown how the NP trace left behind observes the binding principle for anaphors. Interestingly, the rule in question raises the subject of a tensed clause to the matrix subject position in a raising construction. The rule applies optionally. If it does not apply, the matrix subject position may remain empty (realized as impersonal *pro*) or be filled by impersonal *i*. We have then presented arguments in support of the rule in question. These arguments are based on facts relating to intuitive judgement, gapping, Case-marking, resumptive pronoun, subject-verb agreement and *i*-insertion. Finally, we have briefly sketched the theoretical assumptions about the binding principle for anaphors and presented two apparent problems facing the binding and Case theories due to raising-to subject from a tensed clause in Maithili. We have tried to resolve these problems in terms of the following theoretical proposals:

- (a) a redefinition of "governing category" as the minimal Sor NP containing the governor and the governed element for Maithili-type languages, concomitantly, a rejection of cross-linguistic validity of Chomsky's (1981) definition, which mentions "accessible SUBJECT";
- (b) the base-generation of INFL as part of V in Maithili;
- (c) government of (and Case-assignment to) the subject NP by COMP in Maithili; and
- (d) an S'''-deletion rule in Maithili, which is optionally triggered by raising verbs.

Colophon: This article is a revised version of the paper presented at the sixth annual conference of the Linguistic Society of Nepal (Nov. 26-27, 1985). I am grateful

to P. Dasgupta and K.A. Jayaseelan for their insightful comments on its earlier version. The errors, if any, are my own.

NOTES

1. Note that Maithili, unlike English, does not have raising adjectival constructions.
2. The optionality of *i*-insertion may be attributed to the pro-drop property which Maithili shares with languages like Italian and Spanish. (For details, see Jaeggli (1980) and Chomsky (1981)). Languages with this property have overt subject-verb agreement manifested by a "sufficiently" rich inflection system and thus permit a pronoun subject to be dropped. For further discussion on pro-drop in Maithili, see chapter 4 in Yadava (1983).
3. Cf. *ahā lagaet aich je gari nai pakair sakab*, which is a variant subject-verb agreement. For their difference, see Yadava (1983:137-9).
4. For the detailed discussion of the theoretical concepts involved therein, see chomsky (1981).
5. Furthermore, the stipulation of S'''-deletion is also consistent with another principle of UG, viz, the Empty Category Principle (ECP), which states that an EC must be properly governed. In structures like (18), the matrix verb *lagaet chi* properly governs the NP-trace after S'''-deletion takes place.

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LANGTANG TIBETANS AND HINDU NORMS AS POLITICAL LANGUAGE: A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE ON SANSKRITIZATION THEORY

Thomas Cox

Introduction

Sanskritization can be defined as a socialization process in which low caste people attempt to raise their status in society by adopting the values, rituals, eating habits and dress of upper (twice-born) castes. When a social group is undergoing Sanskritization they may also express their, "new values and ideals in theological and scholarly literature" (Gurung 1988: 43). People going through Sanskritization also often claim to be direct descendents of twice-born castes. For example, the Kusunda, a tribal group of west Nepal, claim to be the descendents of Thakuris, and have even adopted Thakuri clan names (Reinhard 1976: 6). Similarly, members of some Thakali communities claim to be descendents of Thakuris who migrated from west Nepal (Gurung 1988: 46)

The introduction of the concept of *Sanskritization* (by M.N. Srinivas in 1952)¹ constituted a real landmark in South Asian studies, for it showed that the caste system is not static, but rather has a more fluid, dynamic form of organization which allows for considerable social mobility. Several scholars have described the process of Sanskritization among different ethnic groups in Nepal (Gurung 1988; Jones 1976; Ijima 1963; Rose 1974; Sharma 1977).

The purpose of this article is to show; (1) the ways in which members of the Langtang Tibetan community use Hindu norms, as a political language, to protect their interests in specific contexts of interaction with Hindu caste Nepalis and; (2) to demonstrate that the political use of Hindu norms is *not* a sign that Langtang Tibetans are becoming Sanskritized. On the contrary, my argument is that Langtang Tibetans, by using Hindu norms as a political resource, have been better able to maintain their Tibetan Buddhist cultural autonomy² and identity, in the face of integration into Nepal's national political-economic system.

The paper begins with a discussion of how certain Hindu norms, which have been sanctioned by Nepal's national political system, have affected the relationship between tribal peoples and the Nepali government. The second section describes the basic features of Langtang Tibetan society and ethnic identity. The third section focuses on the relationship between the Langtang Tibetan community and the Nepali state. The fourth section discusses the precise ways in which Langtang Tibetans use Hindu norms, as a political resource, in their interactions with Nepali government officials, and examines the implication of this for theories of Sanskritization in Nepal.

Hindu Norms and The Nepali Polity

Hindus first began coming to Nepal in the "first century of the Christian era" (Sharma 1977: 291). This was followed by another wave of Hindu migration which began in the 12th century and lasted until the 14th. The vast majority of this second wave of migrants settled in the Jumla area of western Nepal (Sharma 1977: 291). These first two waves of migrants helped lay the foundation of Hinduized legal, administrative and political institutions in Nepal. However, it was not until Nepal was unified by Prithivi Narayan Shah in the late 18th century that Hindu-based legal and administrative institutions were established at a national level, making their impact felt throughout Nepal.

For over 60 years after the political unification of Nepal, Hindu based legal codes were instituted in an inconsistent and diffuse fashion, resulting in a situation where the law was interpreted in different ways by administrators throughout Nepal (Sharma 1977: 278). In an effort to improve Nepal's legal administration the Ranas introduced, in 1853, a standardized legal code, the *muluki ain*, which was based on; "The *Shastras* (the principles of social and political organization in a Hindu polity) and particularly upon a later abbreviated version of the *Manusmriti* (code of *Manu*), which prescribed the maintenance of a rigidly hierarchical caste structure as the primary duty of a Hindu monarch" (Rose 1974:39).

The *muluki ain* also legally sanctioned the ritual status of the twice-born Brahman and Chetri caste people. For example, under the *muluki ain* Brahmins and Chetris were exempted from certain forms of tax and compulsory labor for the government, which were required from other castes (Caplan 1970: 71).

The *muluki ain* remained in effect until 1951, when the Rana regime was overthrown. In 1963 King Mahendra, while establishing the *panchayat* system, instituted a new legal code which banned all discrimination on the basis of caste, "thus essentially nullifying the *Shastric* base that had underlain all previous codes" (Rose 1974:41). King Mahendra added other important secular elements to the 1963 *panchayat* constitution. Perhaps the most significant of these was the development of a political-

bureaucratic framework to facilitate economic development and political modernization in Nepal.

Despite the presence of secular elements in the panchayat constitution Nepal, in many respects, is still a Hindu polity. For example, the panchayat constitution describes Nepal as a Hindu state with a king who must be a member of the Hindu religion. The constitution also refers to the Nepali people in traditional Hindu terms, as organized into four *varnas* (categories) and 36 *jats* (castes) (Rose 1974:33). The *panchayat* constitution also forbids the slaughter of cattle and the sale or consumption of beef, thus legally sanctioning one of Hinduism's most sacred rules (Rose 1974: 41). Finally, the majority of Nepal's ruling class (including those people who hold the most powerful positions in the army, ministries and national parliament, and including the royal family) are members of Nepal's highest Hindu castes; Brahmans, Chetris and Thakuris. Rose (1974: 36) argued that political modernization in Nepal will continue to;

"occur within a framework of limited secularization and that this polity, while constantly changing, will be more notable for the persistence of traditional Hindu values and behavior patterns" (Rose 1974:36).

Rose (1974: 34) further concluded that through policies of political modernization and integration the Nepali government is, in fact, attempting to standardize Hindu norms throughout Nepal's population. Finally, Rose (1974:35) also concluded that Hindu norms, sanctioned by Nepal's national political system, are being widely accepted by Nepal's diverse ethnic groups and, indeed, that political integration in Nepal is being accomplished through Sanskritization.

To obtain resources from the government, non-Hindu ethnic groups are often put in the position of having to convince Nepali officials that they have conformed to those Hindu norms sanctioned by the panchayat constitution. The strategies that Langtang Tibetans use, to convince Nepali officials that they follow certain Hindu norms, will be discussed later in the paper. Before that however, it is necessary to describe the social organization, religious life, economic system, political institutions and ethnic identity of the Langtang people, as well as the process of their integration into Nepal's national political-economic system.

Langtang Tibetan Society

Langtang is an east-west running Himalayan valley which lies along the Tibetan border in the north-central Nepali district of Rasuwa. The Langtang Tibetan community consists of approximately 450 people who live in three separate villages, which lie between 11,500 and 12,700 feet in elevation.

The Langtang Tibetan economy is based on subsistence agriculture (the crop grown include potatoes, buckwheat and barley), livestock husbandry and trade with both Nepali and other Tibetan communities (see Hall 1976). Virtually everyone in the Langtang community is devout Tibetan Buddhists, who support two large monasteries, a number of resident monks and a rich ceremonial-ritual life.

Langtang Tibetans are organized into 12 patrilineal clans. The descendents of nine of these clans came from the Kyirong district of southern Tibet, which lies directly north of Langtang. The other three clans are believed to be Tamang (a large Tibeto-Burman ethnic group indigenous to Nepal) in origin. Despite this presence of Tamang descendents however, Langtang still maintains a distinctly Tibetan identity. This Tibetan identity manifests itself in a number of ways. For example, (1) inhabitants of Langtang will often intermarry with Tibetan refugees (who have settled in nearby communities), but almost never with members of neighboring Tamang communities.³ Langtang Tibetans have also practiced polyandry, a distinctly Tibetan marriage institution. (2) The Langtang Tibetan dialect is almost identical with the Tibetan language spoken just over the border, in the Tibetan district of Kyirong (see also Hall 1976: 60). Langtang Tibetans themselves also refer to their language as an important aspect of their continued Tibetan identity. (3) When a person dies in Langtang his/her relatives must invite the whole village to a *gyowa* (funeral ceremony), in which rituals and prayers are performed so that the dead person may achieve a good reincarnation. Tibetans from the neighboring village of Briddim and Syabru Bensi are often invited to *gyowas* in Langtang, and reciprocate by inviting Langtang residents to *gyowas* in their communities. Tamangs from nearby communities, however, are not invited to attend funeral ceremonies in Langtang, even though they ostensibly worship the same religion, Tibetan Buddhism. Langtang Tibetans consider the Tibetan *gyowa* to be a particularly sacred ceremony in which only Tibetan Buddhists should participate. The reasons why Langtang Tibetans do not consider some *Tamangs* to be true Buddhists becomes apparent when analyzing the Nepali festival of *Dasai*.

(4) like the *gyowa*, the ritual activity of *Dasai* expresses differences in the ethnic identity of Langtang Tibetans and their Tamang neighbors. *Dasai* celebrates the victory of good over evil in the Hindu epic of the Ramayana. One of the most important activities of *Dasai* is the sacrifice of domestic animals to the goddess Durga. The celebration of *Dasai* is seen by many Nepalis as an important expression of national unity and dedication to the Hindu culture of Nepal.

Tamangs in nearby villages celebrate *Dasai* in the same way as most other Nepalis, by singing, feasting and, most importantly for this discussion, sacrificing sheep and other livestock. Langtang Tibetans, on the other hand, view *Dasai* as a profoundly evil event in which Nepalis commit great sin by sacrificing animals. Instead

of celebrating *Dasai*, as the neighboring Tamangs do, Langtang Tibetans gather in the village monastery and fast and pray for the souls of the sacrificed animals. When Langtang villagers were asked why they did not celebrate *Dasai* like their Tamang neighbors, they simply answered, "they are Nepali; we are Tibetan."

A Short History of Langtang's Integration into Nepal's National Political Economic System

Until the early 1960's the Langtang community remained on the periphery of Nepal's national political-economic system. The only government representatives who stayed permanently in Langtang were a few Nepali personnel at the local cheese factory. Nepali officials rarely visited the Langtang community, and the Tibetans rarely went out of their way to contact central government offices at either the district or national levels. During the course of trading expeditions Langtang Tibetans would often visit Hindu-caste Nepali communities. The Langtang Tibetan community, however, was rarely visited by Hindu-caste Nepalis or other outsiders.

Langtang's isolation came to an end with the institution of the *panchayat* system in 1963. Nepal's *panchayat* government greatly increased the number of civil servants, and health, education and agricultural facilities, in Nepal's rural areas, as part of an overall policy of socioeconomic development (see Blaike et. al. 1980: 101; Chauhan 1971: 207). By 1973 the Nepali government had established a primary school and police station in the Langtang Tibetan community, and an army post in the near vicinity. In 1970 the Rasuwa district headquarters moved from Trisuli (5 days walk from Langtang) to Dhunche, a town lying just two days walk from Langtang. Dhunche's proximity enabled *panchayat* officials to increase the number of their annual visits to Langtang. In 1974 the Nepali government established a national park which encompassed the Langtang valley and adjacent areas. This park greatly increased the rate of contact between Langtang Tibetans and Nepali government officials. Officials regularly visit Langtang to enforce national park rules and question the Tibetan people concerning wildlife, agriculture and other matters.

The *panchayat* system also greatly increased opportunities for Langtang Tibetans to acquire political representation, and resources for community development, from Nepal's central government. The Langtang Tibetan community has taken full advantage of these opportunities by choosing a *pradhan panch* (community leader) and political skills to successfully obtain considerable resources (i.e. money for health posts, trail repair, water systems, bridge construction, monastery renovation and government subsidized rice) from the Nepali government.

A deteriorating local economy has made Langtang community members very eager to take advantage of the opportunities for resource acquisition offered to them by

the panchayat system. Langtang's economic problems have been caused by a variety of factors including overpopulation (caused by an influx of refugees from Tibet), overgrazing (and a subsequent decline in livestock production), inflation in the price of food grains and national park restrictions on the gathering of medicinal herbs, previously a valuable source of income. The increasing need for government resources has also caused Langtang Tibetans to place a new emphasis on pursuing a Nepali medium education, so as to acquire the literacy and knowledge necessary to effectively deal with *panchayat* officials.

An increasing number of locally present Nepali government officials, who enforce laws and implement development policies, an expansion in the number of opportunities to acquire political representation in the panchayat system, and a growing dependence on government economic resources, all contributed to the integration of the Langtang Tibetan community, into Nepal's national political-economic system, throughout the 1970's and 1980's

Hindu Norms and Routines of Self-Presentation in Political Action

The Langtang community's success in obtaining economic resources, from the Nepali government, has been due, in large part, to routines of self-presentation,⁴ which Langtang Tibetans implement during interactions with central *panchayat* officials. In these routines of self-presentation Langtang Tibetans present themselves as patriotic, progressive, knowledgeable Hindu citizens who have conformed to social, cultural and political norms instituted in the *panchayat* constitution, and who thus deserve the rights and resources due to them under panchayat law. Langtang Tibetans, in their routines of self-presentation to Nepali government officials, avoid all reference to traditional Tibetan cultural life. Instead, they make a point to discuss Nepali politics, history and other issues of national importance (see Berreman 1982; Manzardo 1978 for important discussions on routines of self-presentation in other Himalayan Communities). When visiting government officials Langtang Tibetans also make a point of discarding their traditional Tibetan robes (*choba*) for the tight fitting pants, cotton tunic and *tope* (traditional Nepali cap) worn by most Hindu caste Nepalis. In their routines of self-presentation Langtang Tibetans also follow important rules of Hindu-caste society, such as avoiding all contact with untouchables, refraining from the consumption of beef and adhering to the purity-pollution rules which govern the treatment of food. Finally, Langtang Tibetans, in their routines of self-presentation, often do not even admit to being Tibetan, but instead claim to be *Tamang* (see Levine 1987 for a further discussion of *Tamang* as an ethnic label). The *Tamang*, as previously described, are a large, well-known, indigenous Tibeto-Burman ethnic group in Nepal. By identifying themselves as *Tamangs* Langtang Tibetans reinforce their self-presentation as well-integrated citizens of Nepal, and avoid being disparaged as "squatters from Tibet."

The Hindu norms used in routines of self-presentation do not carry over into other realms of Langtang Tibetan social life. Within the context of their own community Langtang Tibetans do not refer to themselves as *Tamang*, do not adhere to purity-pollution restrictions governing the treatment of food, wear traditional Tibetan *chobas* and make no effort to discriminate among any visiting Nepalis on the basis of caste.

In short, the Hindu norms which Langtang Tibetans use in routines of self-presentation have not compromised their traditional Tibetan identity, or in any way Sanskritized them. On the contrary, the political use of Hindu norms has actually enriched certain aspects of Langtang's Tibetan Buddhist culture, in the face of the community's integration into Nepal's national political-economic system. For example, the successful use of routines of self-presentation have facilitated Langtang Tibetan efforts to obtain government funds which have, since 1982, enabled the Langtang community to hold the *Kangyur Tengyur* on an annual basis. The *Kangyur Tengyur* is an important Buddhist ceremony which involves the reading of the entire *Kangyur* (Tibetan canon). Before 1982 this ceremony was rarely held, due to a lack of funds. *Panchayat* government funds have also allowed Langtang Tibetans to renovate their monastery and support a greater number of monks. This shows how members of Buddhist and Animist ethnic minority groups can draw upon Hindu norms (in specific interactional contexts), to protect their interests, without necessarily becoming Sanskritized. This, in turn, provides important evidence to the contrary of Rose's (1974) theory that political modernization and integration in Nepal has been taking place through Sanskritization.

Conclusion

This paper has discussed the ways in which Langtang Tibetans also politically use Hindu norms to protect their interests and obtain economic resources in the face of integration into Nepal's national political-economic system. This paper began with a definition of Sanskritization and a short discussion of its relevance to this analysis. In the second section I discussed the history of the relationship between Hindu norms and the Nepali polity, both before and after institution of the *panchayat* system. In the third section I examined religious and social organizational features of Langtang Tibetan society. In the fourth section I gave a short history of the Langtang Tibetan community's integration into Nepal's national political-economic system. In the fifth section I showed how Langtang Tibetans politically use Hindu norms in specific contexts of interaction with Hindu caste Nepalis.⁵ I also concluded that while Langtang Tibetans use Hindu norms as a political resource, they have in no way become Sanskritized. I conclude further that drawing on Hindu norms as a political resource has actually strengthened Langtang's Tibetan Buddhist culture.

Notes

- 1 Srinivas, M.N.
1952 *Religion and Society Among The Coorgs of South India*. London: Clarendon Press.
- 2 Autonomy, in the context of this discussion, can be defined as, "the degree of self-determination or political control possessed by a minority group in its relations to the state of which it forms a part, and extending from local self-government to complete independence' (Gove et. al. 1971: 148).
- 3 There is one Langtang Tibetan woman who has a *Tamang* husband, Lakpa, who is a fully accepted member of the Langtang community, even though he often lives apart (with another wife) in the nearby village of Tulo Syabru. The reason for Lakpa's acceptance into the Langtang Tibetan community is that he is a shaman (*pomboo*) who provides a vitally important service by treating emotionally troubled people in Langtang. Thus, the *pomboo's* important position in Langtang society has enabled Lakpa to transcend the usual cultural boundaries which separate *Tamangs* and Tibetans.
- 4 There is an excellent discussion of routines of self-presentation in Neils Braroe's (1975) book, *Indian and White: Self-image and Interaction in a Canadian Plains community*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- 5 To understand Langtang Tibetan's political usage of Hindu norms it was necessary to participate in, and carefully record, many different cases of interaction between Langtang community members and Nepali outsiders. This demonstrates just how essential rigorous field work (based on intensive participant/observation in all realms of native social life) is to good ethnography. In his 1976 article, *From the Natives Point of View: On the Nature of Anthropological Understanding*, Clifford Geertz held up Malinowski's diary as evidence that good anthropology was more dependent on a rather detached understanding of the symbolic structures through which natives make sense of the world, then on intense immersion into native life. While I agree with Geertz that good anthropology is not just a matter of going native, I also believe that a high level of integration into native life is not incompatible with social scientific objectivity, and, indeed, may even facilitate the collection of ethnographic data. Whether Geertz intended it or not, his influential 1976 article has had the unfortunate consequence of deemphasizing the importance of field work, and more specifically, participant observation, to anthropology.

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ADAPTED LAND USE AND OVEREXPLOITATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES IN GORKHA

Willibald Haffner

There are, no doubt, definite signs of the overexploitation of the natural environment and the thus resulting damage to the landscape in the Himalayas of Nepal. However, it is not the destruction which is the dominant aspect, but a type of mountain agriculture, based on a long tradition of farming experience, optimally adapted to geological Factors (Fig. land 2). Some examples are regular crop rotation, the practice of a fallow-season as an integral part of a crop rotation plan, fertilization, the spreading of mulch to provide the soil with supplementary organic matter and elaborate techniques of artificial irrigation (see Gorkha-Sirdi Khola: Land use Map).

Instructive and, from an ecological point of view, particularly problematic examples of overexploitation are: the building of roads on deeply weathered rock which is prone to erosion; the extension of settlements onto slopes threatened by landslides (Fig.3) the excessive increase in demand for drinking water in Gorkha; the abandonment of a fallow-season in favour of type of intensively dunged, all-year-round cultivation and the degradation of vegetation and soil in areas of common land caused by a particularly large range of various kinds of overexploitation (cattle grazing, the removal of tree fodder and firewood).

There is, no doubt, that the traditional agricultural techniques and cultivation and pasture farming systems are suited to the natural potential. However, that does not mean that adaptation is the equivalent of environmental and ecological stability or even of an ecological balance between natural environmental potential and the demands made of this environment by the people who settle and farm there. Gradual but continual forest and soil degradation have proved to be unavoidable and are by no means recent developments even in the old agricultural areas. Although there have been references to the overexploitation of the natural environment in Nepal for about 2-3 centuries now. Although the Nepalese have often been accused to gross misunderstanding and the wrong attitude towards their mountain environment, it must be said that this recent development has a number of causes, which should be seen in connection with the rapid takeover of new technology (e.g. in road and house building, mechanization and

modernization of agriculture). The most important maxim is no longer adaptation to a natural, ecological environment. Actions are nowadays governed by economic pressures and by the influence on non-Asian patterns of behaviour and thus nature is exploited for purely economic reasons. Unlike in the traditional farming society, the limits of environmental potential are nowadays no longer realized, but are also being thoughtlessly transgressed more and more. Overexploitation in the form of a type of rubber-farming and irreversible damage to the landscape is then the regular consequences. As the topography of the land does not permit an extension of the arable area in the Gorkha region, there is only one solution to the dilemma of the population explosion of the last two decades. This is to increase area productivity not only in arable farming, but also in areas which have so far been used extensively (pasture, degraded forests, wasteland).

There are, however, difficulties involved in the form of the restricted limits set to such a development by both economic and ecological potential. For example, the cultivation of grain in winter depends on the restricted amount of irrigation water available during the dry season. Furthermore, the fact that the land is no longer allowed to lie fallow to renew its fertility means that it is necessary to employ expensive, imported mineral fertilizers. These are only two of the problems. Increased production of rice, maize, animal products and wood for building purposes or firewood is of the utmost importance for a population which is already being forced to live, economically speaking, from hand to mouth, even if it will not satisfy more than a basic demand for the main necessities of life. On the other hand, recognition of the fact that the same priority must be given, in the long run, to the protection of the ecological foundation is prevailing more and more. The following are some of the methods which can be employed for the conservation of soil and to increase fertility in the long-term:

- Upland terraces (bari) must be secured by extending the (already existing) practice of cultivating fodder trees along the edges of the terraces, around farmhouses, along roadsides and paths, small brooks and mountain streams.
- Cultivation of intercroops (finger-millet and pulses) in the maize fields where the soil is particularly exposed and thus in danger of erosion.
- Improved provision of the soil with humus by means of mulch spreading or covering the ground with left-over plant material.

Finally, I would like to point out one method of soil preservation, as yet unknown in the Gorkha region. This is the cultivation of soil-conserving fodder plants (e.g. legumes), which could also help at the same time to somewhat reduce the chronic lack of fodder, available for livestock. The propagation of husbandry may be regarded, to a large extent, as being on a level with an improvement of basic fodder, e.g. by means of:

- the above-mentioned introduction of controlled cultivation of field fodder plants,
- the encouragement of fodder tree cultivation,
- the introduction of a rotating grazing system for overused pastures,
- the release of certain forest and shrub areas for pruning to produce fodder and temporary, strictly controlled grazing,
- the keeping of fewer, but more productive animals,
- the encouragement of stabling so as to produce more dung.

However, exploitation of the "village forests" which are being called for within the framework of a social forestry plan for Nepal, and utilization of their products (wood, leaf fodder, fruit), must not be allowed to be the only to be dominant aspects, as has been the case so far. The demand for the creation of "village forests" is also a demand for orderly measures for their protection and conservation. The aim of "social forestry" is to make the local, native inhabitants of Nepalese mountain villages responsible forest owners with the rights of usage necessary for the local economy, but with duty to ensure afforestation and to protect the forest and to take measures to regenerate already devastated areas. I believe that this is one way of bringing the inhabitants of a village, for example in the Gorkha area, to really identify themselves with the forest, in spite of its being a public or common property. Only then the Nepalese mountain farmer, who up till now has also ways been labelled as a destroyer of forests, will be prepared to employ all those techniques of tree and soil conservation which he has mastered for centuries, but has only yet put into practice on private land.

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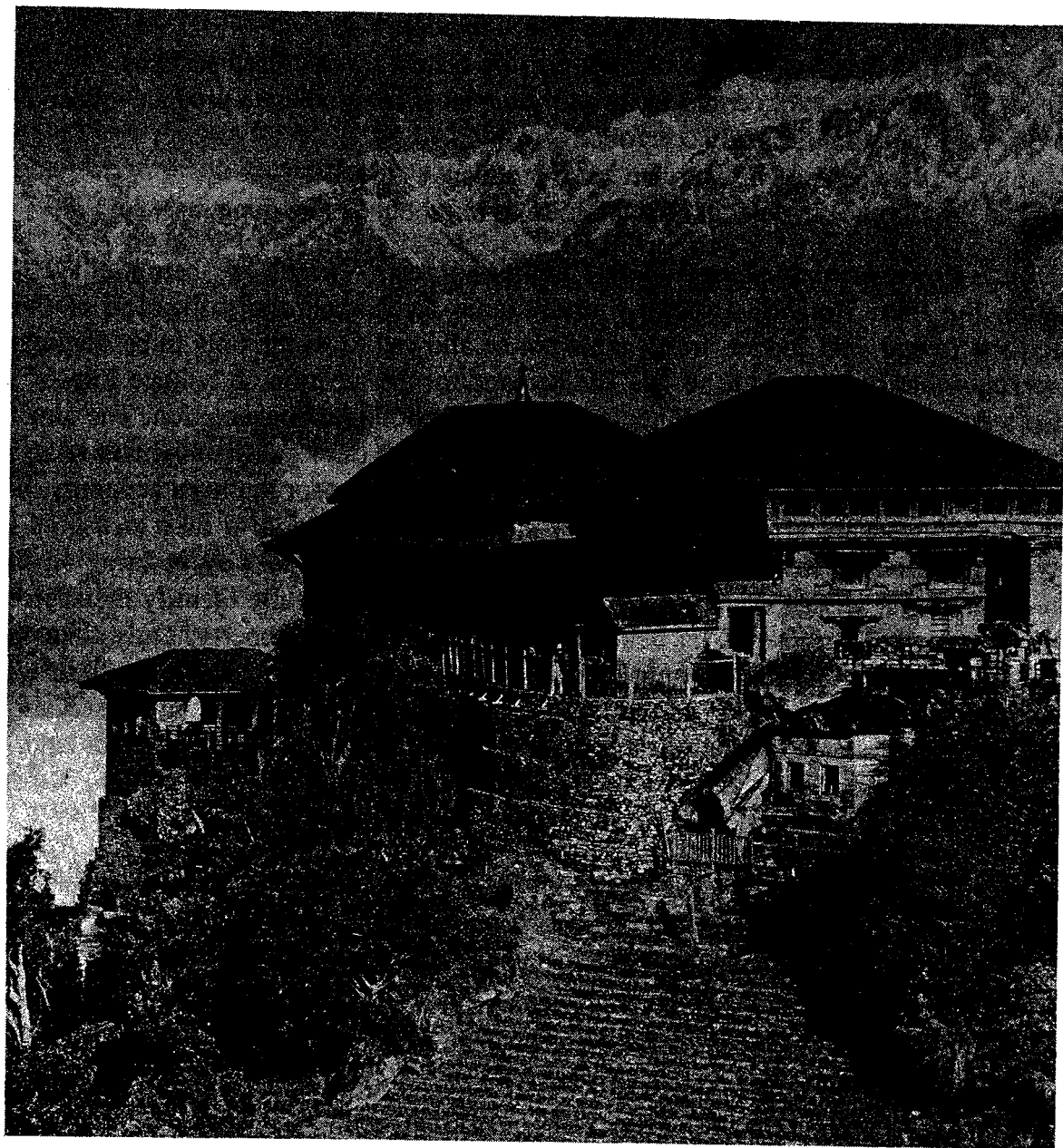


Fig.1: Gorkha-Darbar located on a mountain ridge with open view to the main Himalayan range.

The problem of land slides and soil erosion is perfectly mastered by the construction of terrace like steps and by the plantation of trees and bushes.

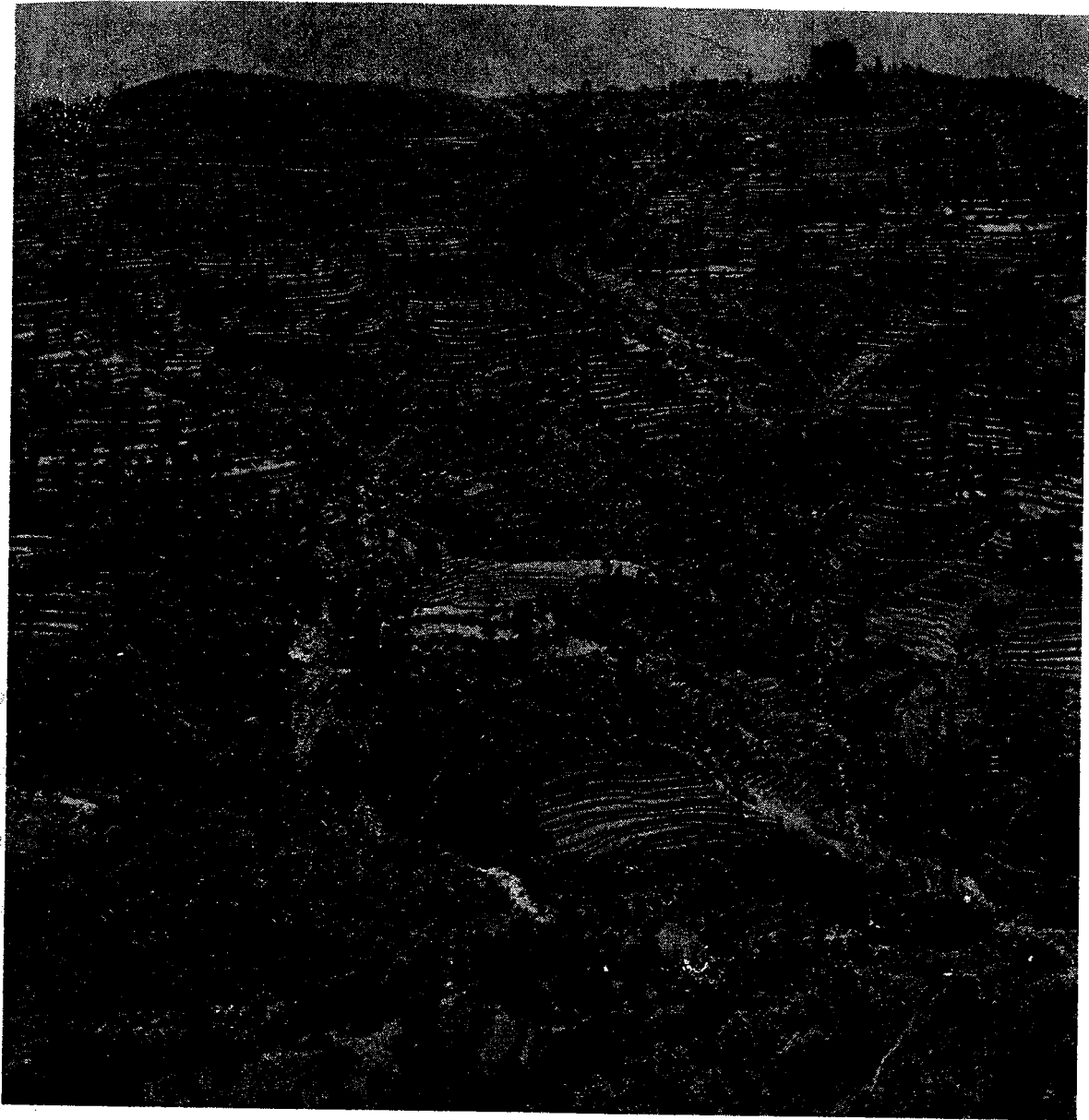


Fig. 2: Traditional agro-forestry on the steep and intensively cultivated mountain slope near Sirdigau. The problem of soil erosion and mass movement is perfectly mastered by terracing and the plantation of fodder-and fruit tree.

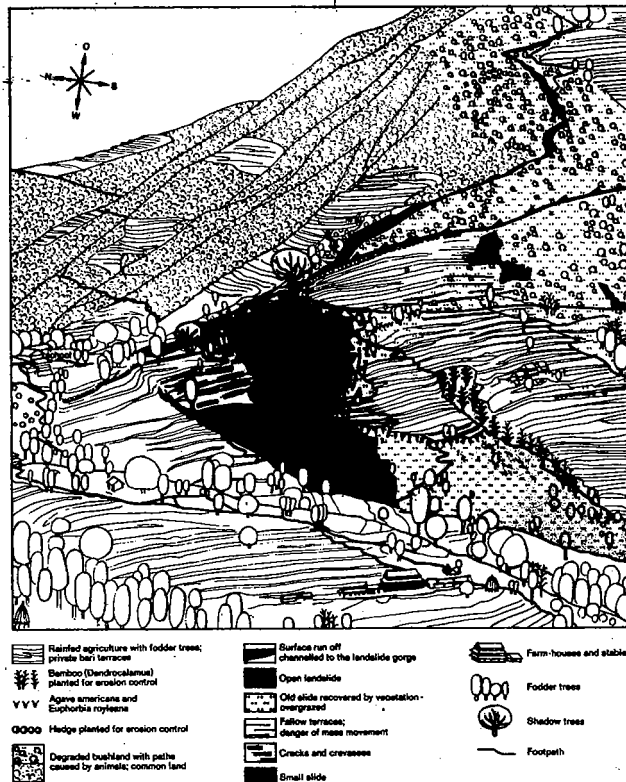


Fig. 3: indicates the complicated factorial complex leading to serious erosion damages accelerated by man:

- heavy regressive river erosion in deeply weathered bedrock and colluvial deposits;
- permanent channelling of surplus water from a neighbouring village uphill to the landslide gorge;
- young cracks and crevices indicate the next step of slope-sliding. Even the school is endangered and again valuable arable land will be lost.

The sketch-map exemplifies at the same time:

- well maintained private bari terraces (rainfed agriculture) with fodder trees;
- active biological erosion control inside a fossil erosion-gully by bamboo-plantation;
- degraded bushland on common land;

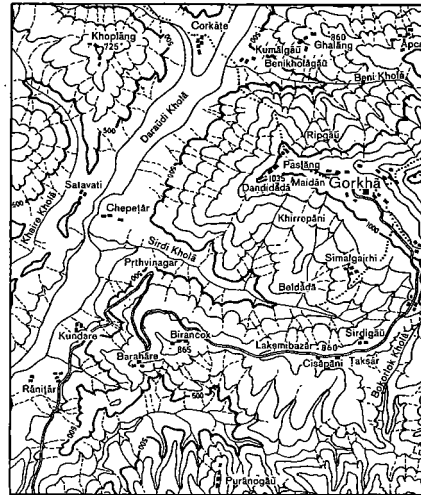
There exists, of course, a serious conflict between the upper village and the local people living around the dangerous gorge how to solve the serious slide problem. But in the meantime the erosion process is much advanced and an easy and quick solution seems no more possible. The local villagers are obviously overcharged by the actual situation.

GORKHĀ - SIRDĪ KHOLĀ

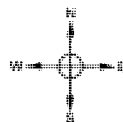
Land Use Map

Survey Map of the Region

1 :



- Evergreen mountain forest (Castanopsis/Que
- Evergreen mountain forest (Castanopsis/Quer Rhododendron)
- Degraded mountain forest (brushwood)
- Pine - afforestation
- Palm - tree
- Bamboo
- Fruit - tree
- Grassland - Pasture
- Dry inclined terraces (bāri)
Main crops : maize, millet
- Irrigated levelled terraces (khet)
Main crop : rice
- Irrigated crops in March / April :**
 - R Rice (asāre dhān)
 - M Maize
 - W Wheat
 - P Potatoes
 - N Peanuts
 - V Vegetables
 - Ra Radish
 - O Onions
- Uncultivated fields
- Rocks and thatching grass
- Rockfall sediments
- Wasteland
- Gravel
- Quarry
- Slide
- Settlement area



- road - path
- shadow trees
- stream (kholā)
spring (dhārū)

0 100 200 300 400 500m

Topographic base: R. Koehn, E. Schneider, U. Müller-Göcker
Field survey and draft: W. Haffner, P. Pöhl, March, April 1988
Cartography: M. Remmers
Printed: R. Stöcker, Institute of Geography, Göttingen, 1988

LAND USE AND GEOECOLOGICAL DAMAGES **THE CASE OF GORKHA**

Perdita Pohle

The observations concerning land use and geoecological damages in the study area of Gorkha were carried out as part of an ecological and geographical project sponsored by DEUTSCHE FORSCHUNGSGEMEINSCHAFT (DFG). Field work took place in July, October and December 1983. The research area was fixed by the topographic map "Gorkha — Sirdi Khola 1:5000" by R. Kostka and E. Schneider. In particular, the studies were centered on investigations into the relationship between natural potential and ecologically as well as economically sensible exploitation of the natural resources.

In the research area surfaces of intensive and at the same time ecologically adapted land use may be found immediately adjoining to others which are extremely over-used and degraded. To find out about the back ground of these different modes of land use and to arrive at conclusion on how to use degraded surfaces profitably and at the same time adapted to the demands of ecology, the following investigations were carried out:

- taking-down and analysis of physical-geographical parameters (soil, vegetation, climatic data of two local meteorological stations),
- mapping of land use (see Gorkha-Sirdi Khola: land Use Map) and geomorphic damages,
- interviews on the socio-economic structure of the population and analysis of the land register.

Comparing Gorkha region to other parts of the Nepalese midlands, a considerable number of common characteristics may be emphasized. An increasing population and correspondingly a higher demand for food, fodder, fuel and timber lead to the clearfelling of the natural forests and the extension of arable land. Due to the natural features of the area such as the monsoonal climate, heavily weathered metamorphic rocks, steep slopes etc., the deforested and today more or less intensively cultivated land is highly susceptible to erosive processes.

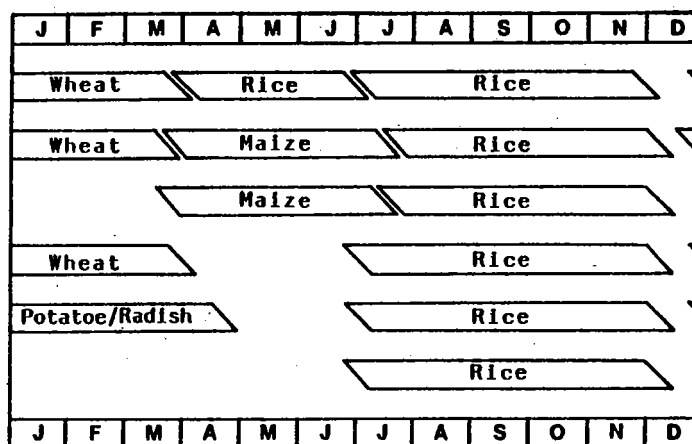
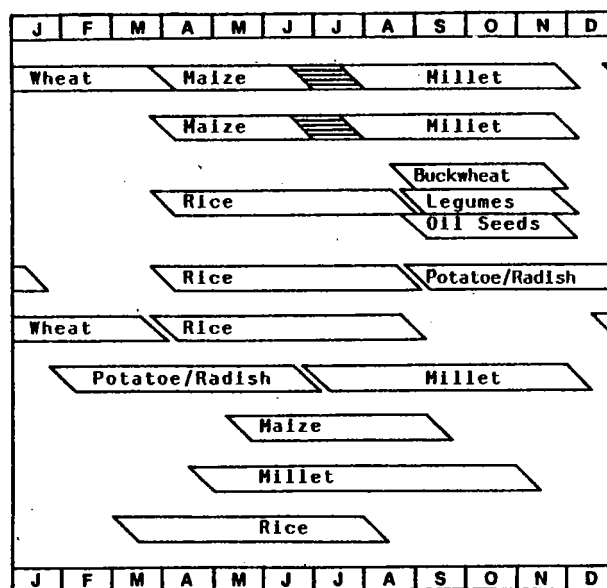


Fig. 1: Cropping calendar on irrigated levelled terraces (khet), annual rotations.



Vegetation period in the main field



Mixed cropping

Fig. 2 Cropping calendar on dry inlined terraces (bari), annual rotations.

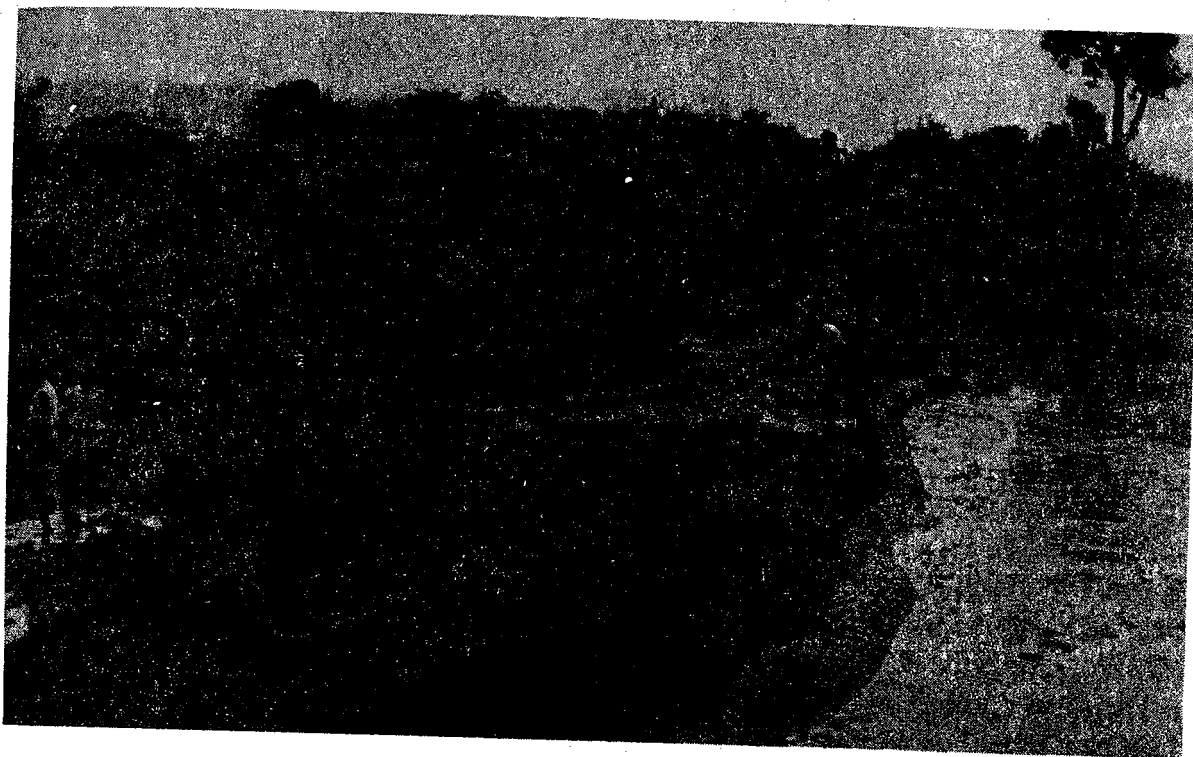


Photo 1: The preparation of khet-terraces for rice cultivation.

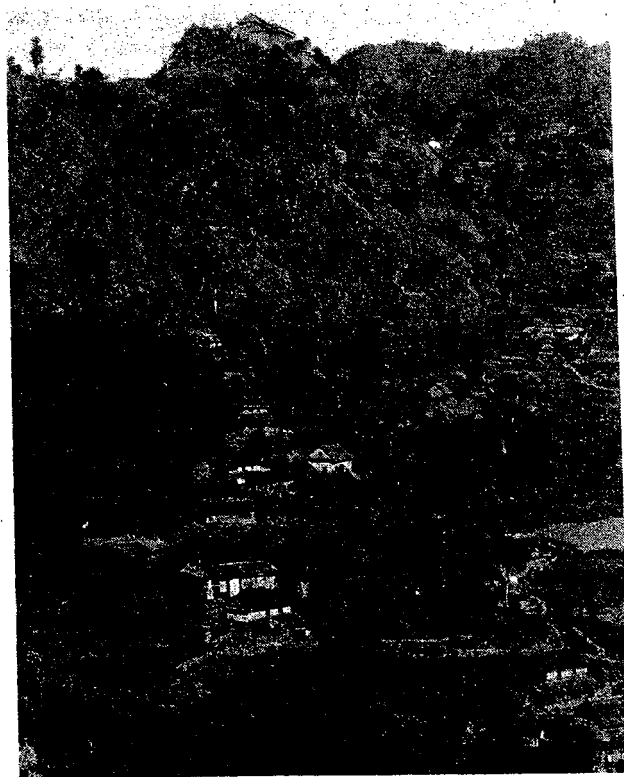


Photo 2: Bari-fields at Pokharathok with the Gorkha Darbar in the background.

The present situation of land use in Gorkha may be described as follows (see Land Use Map): Two thirds of the total mapped area are under agricultural cultivation now. Wet-rice is the staple crop on levelled and bunded irrigated terraces ("khet" Photo 1). The most commonly practiced rotation systems on khet-land are the cultivation of wheat or potatoes as winter-crops after wet-rice during the monsoon, or the cultivation of maize in spring followed by wet-rice (Fig. 1). Due to the introduction of an improved variety of wet-rice with a shorter vegetation period, nowadays three crops per year are possible. Yet the high labor input and the increasing demand of fertilizer implies that these fields are scattered.

On dry, mostly sloping terraces ("bari", Photo 2) maize, millet, and dry-rice are cultivated as well as numerous by-products (Fig. 2). The intensity of cultivation on bari-land may be considered higher than on khet-land. Applying the methods of relay and mixed cropping, the farmers commonly harvest two or three main crops per year. Additionally, fodder trees are planted along the terrace bunds, providing animal fodder and at the same time stabilizing the fields. The cultivation of bari-fields may be regarded as exemplary for ecologically adapted land use.

With exception of the protected forests of "Raniban" and "Kaliban" the original woodlands in Gorkha had either to make room for arable land or through over-use were degraded to shrubland. As long as these areas are not enclosed or supervised continually, over-use will go on leading susceptibility to erosion to rise. The grassland, occurring only in places, is subject to over-grazing as well resulting in a low productivity on the one hand and a rising susceptibility to erosion on the other.

The discrepancy between areas showing ecologically adapted land use (intensive dry field systems) and surfaces extremely degraded as a result of over-use and lacking care (woodland and pastures) are the most striking facts. Whereas the farmers are very well capable of applying intensive and ecologically adapted methods of land use to their own lands, communally owned land (woodland and pastures) is extremely over-used.

Comparing the susceptibility to erosion of khet and bari-land, the irrigated fields show numerous damages. Other than with woodland and grazing land in this case it is not the population pressure which leads to over-use and ensuingly to the intensification of erosion processes but the extensification of land use resulting from socio-economic reasons. Maintenance of the terraces, supervision of the irrigation systems, and multiple cropping is often neglected as the land owner pursues a more profitable extra job.

The answer to the final question about the geoecological capacity of the region if the limit to reception has been reached or already been passed or if there are still possibilities to increase the agricultural production may be put as follows:

At present, the agricultural potential is not being exploited at its best, particularly with respect to the wood- and grazing lands which have definite possibilities to increase the agricultural production. Obeying the concepts of "Social Forestry" or "Agro-Forestry" the following proposals contribute to improve the exploitation of natural resources:

- introduction of rotational grazing systems,
- stables for livestock,
- more productive stock breeds,
- growing fodder plants during fallow period (e.g. leguminous plants supplying nitrogen to the soil),
- replanting of eroded surfaces and degraded grazing land (sowing of grass-varieties with high yield and fodder value or planting of fodder trees),
- transferring the responsibility for woodland and grazing land from state level to the communities,
- reduction of energy use, e.g. through the introduction of low-energy stoves.

Increasing the agricultural potential by means of extending the arable land is no longer possible in the area of Gorkha. Therefore it should intensify cultivation on the surfaces already in use by means of ecologically and economically adapted methods. The possibilities, however, are limited. Intensifications seeming sensible from the economic point of view easily turns out to be disadvantageous to the ecological conditions. That is why the following proposals are made subject to careful analysis regarding both the ecologic and the economic local circumstances:

- optimal application of fertilizer,
- exploitation of the high genetic potential of local varieties to introduce high-yielding improved varieties.

Theoretically a new concept of land-ownership may lead to optimal land use - a demand which can hardly be put into practice. The following points seem to be more realistic:

- the improvement of irrigation and drainage system,
- the intensification of measures taken against erosion (replanting of eroded valley slopes, etc.)

These proposals for improvement may be considered feasible if they are decided upon with regard to the local particularities and above all by the local people themselves.

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RESEARCH NOTE

ETHNOBOTANICAL STUDIES IN CENTRAL NEPAL: THE CEREMONIAL PLANT-FOODS

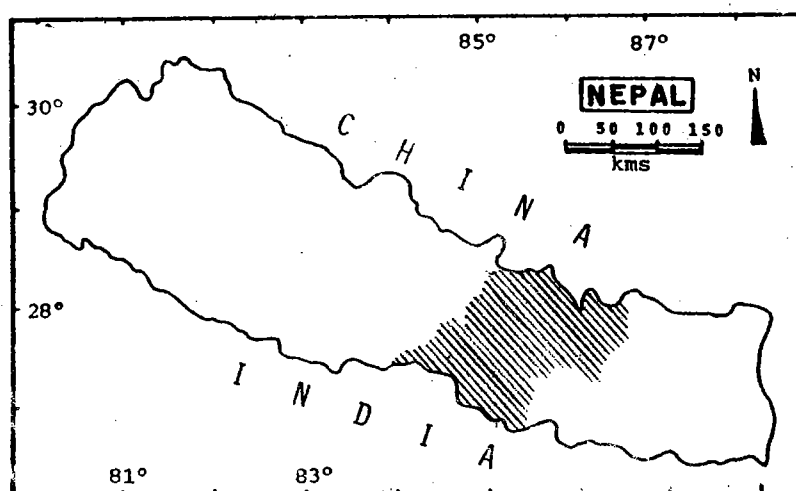
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Introduction

Plants have always been an inevitable part of the life and culture of the Nepalese people. Hence, it is but natural that all aspects of the Nepalese folk-life and beliefs have sufficient narration about plants and their parts. The ceremonial plant-foods of the Nepalese people are an example of their strong commitment to conserve this rich tradition. The present paper is an attempt to record the common religious and traditional ceremonies that are also meant for the consumption of particular plant-foods in central Nepal.

Methods of Study

The study area, which included 15 districts (Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Kabhrepalanchok, Sindhupalchok, Rasuwa, Nuwakot, Dhading, Bara, Parsa, Rautahat, Makawanpur, Chitwan, Ramechhap and Dolkha) of central Nepal (Map 1), was surveyed



Map. 1: Location of study area in the country.

repeatedly between 1984-1988. Interviews were conducted to the villagers with different ethnic backgrounds, including the aged persons of the urban localities. Information on religious and other traditional occasion along with the corresponding plant-foods consumed, was documented. The recorded data were confirmed through repeated sources in different parts of the study area. Plants or plant-products used as essential food-stuffs in various occasions were collected at the study sites. They were identified in the National Herbarium (KATH) and plant Laboratories, Department of Forestry and Plant Research, Godawari, Lalitpur, Nepal. All ethnobotanical records were as reported by the informants.

Findings

In the following discussion, 22 religious occasions have been dealt with in a sequential manner along with the corresponding plant-foods consumed. Among the 57 species, sub-species and varieties of plants under 47 genera and 25 families that furnished the ceremonial foods, Papilionaceae occupies the highest number succeeded by Cucurbitaceae and Poaceae, respectively. For each plant, its Latin name, family and Nepali name(s) have been given in succession. However, the family and Nepali names have not been repeated.

1. *Baisakh sankranti* (1st day of the solar month of Baisakh/April): The tender leaves of neem tree (*Azadirachta indica* A. Juss.; Meliaceae; "Neem") are eaten. The dried slices of radish (*Raphanus sativus* L.; Cruciferae; "Mula"), green seeds of field pea (*Pisum sativum* L. var. *arvense* (L.) Poir.; Papilionaceae; "Sano kerau") and broken grains of rice (*Oryza sativa* L.; Poaceae; "Kanika") are cooked together and eaten.
2. *Judsital* (2nd day of the solar month of Baisakh/April): Various types of sweets prepared from wheat (*Triticum aestivum* L.; Poaceae; "Gahun") or rice-flour (*Oryza sativa* L.), are eaten followed by the sprinkling of holy water by the elder persons on the head of their junior members or relatives. It is mostly celebrated in the plains.
3. *Achhaya tritiya* (3rd day of the bright half of the lunar month of Baisakh/April-May): The grains of barley (*Hordeum vulgare* L.; Poaceae; "Jau") are grounded into flour and fried, called "satu" or 'sattu'. It is eaten along with the squash ("sarbat") prepared by mixing sugar or molasses and powdered black pepper (*Piper nigrum* L.; Piperaceae; "Marich") in water. The merit of these food-stuffs lies mainly in feeding the other persons.
4. *Dashahara, Ganga dashahara* (10th day of the bright half of the lunar month of Jestha/June): The newly harvested summer vegetables are cooked together. The

items to be mixed are at least 10 in number. Common examples of the vegetables used on the occasion are the pods of sword bean (*Canavalia gladiata* (Jacq.) DC.; Papilionaceae; "Ghiu simi"), Hyacinth bean (*Lablab purpureus* (L.) Sweet; Papilionaceae; "Asare simi") and cowpea (*Vigna unguiculata* (L.) Walp.; Papilionaceae; "Bodi"), fruits of lady's finger (*Abelmoschus esculentus* (L.) Moench; "Ramtoriyan"), sweet pepper (*Capsicum frutescens* L.; Solanaceae; "Bhende khursani"), long pepper (*Capsicum frutescens* L. var. *longum* Bailey; Solanaceae; "Dhokre khurasani") cucumber (*Cucumis sativus* L.; Cucurbitaceae; "Kankro"), bottle gourd (*Lagenaria siceraria* (Molina) Standley; Cucurbitaceae; "Lauka"), ribbed gourd (*Luffa acutangula* (L.) Roxb.; Cucurbitaceae; "Pate ghiraunla"), vegetable sponge (*Luffa aegyptiaca* Mill.; Cucurbitaceae; "Ghiraunla"), bitter melon (*Momordica charantia* L.; Cucurbitaceae; "Tite karela") momordica (*Momordica cochinchinensis* Spreng.; Cucurbitaceae; "Chattel"), brinjal (*Solanum melongena* L.; Solanaceae; "Bhanta"), and snake gourd (*Trichosanthes anguina* L.; Cucurbitaceae; "Chichindo"), fruits and tender shoots of pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo* L.; Cucurbitaceae; "Farsi"), and the tender leaves of taro (*Colocasia esculenta* (L.) Schott; Araceae; "Karkalo"). Probably to make up the essential number of items, and most probably in order to give the dish an agreeable sour taste, unripe fruits of plum (*Prunus domestica* L. subsp. *institia* (L.) Schneid.; Rosaceae; "Arubokhada") are added in the hills while the same in the plains is replaced by the unripe fruits of mango (*Mangifera indica* L.; Anacardiaceae; "Aamp"). However, in Kathmandu Valley and certain other localities, the practice of adding both the above mentioned fruits was noticed.

5. *Sithi nakha* (6th day of the bright half of the lunar month of Jestha/June): The seeds of black gram (*Vigna mungo* (L.) Hepper; Papilionaceae; "Mas"), greengram (*Vigna radiata* (L.) Wilczek; Papilionaceae; "Mung") and garden pea (*Pisum sativum* L.; Papilionaceae; "Thulo kerai") are made into a paste separately. These are fried in cooking oil or butter in a pan to prepare the traditional fritter-cakes ("bara"). These cakes are accompanied by the fried bitten-rice (*Oryza sativa* L.; "syabaji") and "samyebaji", which is the collective name for "syabaji", bitten-rice, fried soybean (*Glycine max* (L.) Merr.; Papilionaceae; "Bhatmas"), pieces of ginger (*Zingiber officinale* Rosc.; Zingiberaceae; "Aduwa"), tender leaves and cloves of garlic (*Allium sativum* L.; Alliaceae; "Lasun") and boiled seeds of cowpea (*Vigna unguiculata* (L.) Walp.), dressed with salt, chillies (*Capsicum annum* L.; Solanaceae; "Khursani"), turmeric powder (*Curcuma domestica* Val.; Zingiberaceae; "Besar") and Indian rape oil (*Brassica napus* L. var. *napus* L.; Cruciferae; "Tori"). All these items are offered to the family God ("kuldevata"), and eaten. This ceremony is the characteristic feature of the Newars of Kathmandu Valley, although it has been frequently observed among those of other adjoining localities, too.

6. *Asar pandraha* (15th day of the solar month of Asar/June-July): The bitten-rice (*Oryza sativa* L.; "Chiura"), mixed with curd, is eaten.
7. *Harisayani ekadashi* (11th day of the bright half of the lunar month of Asar/July): The boiled tubers of taro (*Colocasia esculenta* (L.) Schott.; "Pindalu") and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas* (L.) Lamk.; Convolvulaceae; "Sakarkhanda") are eaten.
8. *Rishi tarpani, Rakshya bandhan, Janai purniya* (Full-moon day of the lunar month of Shravan/July-August): Different types of dry beans are soaked in water, 3 or more days before, to allow sufficient rooting. At least 9 types of these are cooked together, called "quanti", and consumed. The commonly used beans are the sword bean (*Canavalia gladiata* (Jacq.) DC.), gram (*Cicer arietinum* L.; Papilionaceae; "Chana"), soybean (*Glycine max* (L.) Merr.), hyacinth bean (*Lablab purpureus* (L.) Sweet), garden pea (*Pisum sativum* L.), field pea (*Pisum sativum* L. var. *arvense* (L.) Poir.), broad bean (*Vicia faba* L.; Papilionaceae; "Bakula"), black gram (*Vigna mungo* (L.) Hepper), green gram (*Vigna radiata* (L.) Wilczek), rice bean (*Vigna umbellata* (Thunb.) Ohwi and Ohashi; Papilionaceae; "Mashyang"), and cowpea (*Vigna unguiculata* (L.) Walp.). Based upon the tradition and taste, in some localities, fenugreek seeds (*Trigonella foenum-graecum* L.; Papilionaceae; "Methi") may also constitute one of the components.
9. *Bhadra mahina* (The solar month of Bhadra/August-September): The tubers of elephant-foot yam (*Amorphophallus campanulatus* (Roxb.) Blume ex Dcne.; Araceae; "Ole") is consumed in the plains in various ways (such as boiled, roasted, fried, pickled or cooked like vegetable). Its consumption in this period is believed to please the god and various types of chronic diseases, more particularly the bleeding-piles, are supposed to be cured.
10. *Chatha, Chatha deya puja* (4th day of the bright half of the lunar month of Bhadra/August-September): The Newars worship the god Ganesh which is followed by that of the moon. The fried kernels of peach (*Prunus persica* (L.) Batsch; Rosaceae; "Aru", "Baspati"), pieces of sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum* L.; Poaceae; "Ukhu") and ginger (*Zingiber officinale* Rosc.) are the inevitable food items to be offered to the God. Fruits of the season like guava (*Psidium guajava* L.; Myrtaceae; "Amba"), cucumber (*Cucumis sativus* L.), pear (*Pyrus communis* L.; Rosaceae; "Naspati") and banana (*Musa paradisiaca* L.; Musaceae; "Kera"), etc. are also considered essential by the majority. Other food items that are offered to the god and eaten are the fried seeds of wheat (*Triticum aestivum* L.), maize (*Zea mays* L.; Poaceae; "Makai"), soybean (*Glycine max* (L.) Merr.),

cowpea (*Vigna unguiculata* (L.) Walp.), hyacinth bean (*Lablab purpureus* (L.) Sweet), broad bean (*Vicia faba* L.), garden pea (*Pisum sativum* L.), field pea (*Pisum sativum* L. var. *arvense* (L.) Poir.), and gram (*Cicer arietinum* L.).

11. *Rishi panchami, Teej panchami* (5th day of the bright half of the lunar month of Bhadra/August-September): The women eat cooked-rice with the vegetable prepared from the tender leaves of taro (*Colocasia esculenta* (L.) Schott).
12. *Kojagrat purnima* (Full-moon day of the lunar month of Aswin/October): The seeds of gorgan nut (*Euryale ferox* Salisb.; Euryalaceae; "Makhana"), betel leaves (*Piper betel* L.; Piperaceae; "Pan") containing lime, catechu (wood-extract of *Acacia catechu* (L. f.) Willd.; Mimosaceae; "Khayār") and betel-nut (*Areca catechu* L.; Palmae; "Supari"), and coconut-water (*Cocos nucifera* L.; Palmae; "Nariwal"), supposed to be the favorite foods of the goddess Lakshmi, are offered to the goddess and eaten. The seeds of gorgan nut (*Euryale ferox* Salisb.) are, however, mostly boiled in milk with sugar to prepare a sweet ("khir"), offered to the goddess and eaten.
13. *Lakshmi puja, Dipawali* (New moon day of the lunar month of Kartik/October): Different types of sweets and breads are eaten. More particularly, the round-bread ("sel"), prepared from the rice flour (*Oryza sativa* L.; "Chamal"), is consumed.
14. *Bhai tika, Bhai puja, Bhatni puja* (2nd day of the bright half of the lunar month of Kartik/October): The kernel of walnut (*Juglans regia* L.; Juglandaceae; "Okhar"), endosperm of Indian chestnut (*Castanopsis indica* (Roxb.) A. DC.; Fagaceae; "Katus"), and the fruit-bark of citron (*Citrus medica* L.; Rutaceae; "Bimiro") are eaten, which are offered by the sisters to the brothers.
15. *Haribodhani ekadashi, Thulo ekadashi* (11th day of the bright half of the lunar month of Kartik/October-November): As in Harisayani ekadashi (July), the boiled tubers of taro (*Colocasia esculenta* (L.) Schott) and sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas* (L.) Lamk.) are eaten.
16. *Tulashi ko hom* (Any one among the 12th to 15th day of the bright half of the lunar month of Kartik/October-November): The rice-grains (*Oryza sativa* L.), soaked in water, are mixed with curd and banana (*Musa paradisiaca* L.) and some powdered black pepper (*Piper nigrum* L.), popularly known as "dahi chamal", is offered to the goddess "Tulashi" (The Holy Basil, *Ocimum sanctum* L.; Lamiaceae), and eaten.
17. *Mangsir mahina* (The solar month of Mangsir/November-December): The whole

month is valued for the consumption of cucumber (*Cucumis sativus* L.). This being an off-season for the same, preserved fruits or the pickles are eaten without mentioning its name ("kankro") verbally.

18. *Yamari punhi* (Full-moon day of the lunar month of Mangsir/December): A special sweet, called "yamari", is eaten. It is a ball-like structure, made of rice-flour (*Oryza sativa* L.) which contains boiled molasses inside.
19. *Push pandraha* (15th day of the solar month of Paush/December): Moist rice-grains (*Oryza sativa* L.) are fried, known as "khatte". It is mixed with butter and consumed.
20. *Maghe sankranti, Makar sankranti* (1st day of the solar month of Magh/January): Fried seeds of sesame (*Sesamum indicum* L.; Lamiaceae; "Til") are mixed with boiled molasses and made into balls, known as "Til ko laddu". It is eaten along with the boiled rhizome of white yam (*Dioscorea alata* L.; Dioscoreaceae; "Tarul"), butter and boiled and refined molasses ("chaku").
Rice (*Oryza sativa* L.) and black gram (*Vigna mungo* (L.) Hepper) are cooked together with salt to prepare "khichadi". It is eaten in the meal along with the vegetable prepared from the spinach leaves (*Spinacia oleracea* L.; Chenopodiaceae; "Palungo") and the rhizome of white yam (*Dioscorea alata* L.).
21. *Magh pandraha* (15th day of the solar month of Magh/January): Rice-flour (*Oryza sativa* L.) is mixed with water to make a flexible mass. It is fried in butter to prepare "pua" and consumed.
22. *Chaitra krishna pareba* (1st day of the dark half of the lunar month of Chaitra/March): The tender leaves and inflorescence of mango (*Mangifera indica* L.) are eaten.

Discussion

Although it is difficult to trace back exactly why and how the plant-foods became associated with the rites, it can be assumed safely that their association with the rituals initiated in the remote past following their usefulness in one or the other way, some of which are known even today. In general, the ceremonial plant-foods are directly influenced by the religion of the people. As the Hinduism and Buddhism dominate the present study area, the ceremonial plant-foods are governed by the Hindu or Buddhist mythology, rituals and classical epics. However, some regional or ethnic characteristics also seem to have influenced the ceremonial plant-foods in certain locality.

The dietary status of majority of the rural Nepalese populace represents inadequate nutrition, dominated by rice in the plains and flours in the hills. Koppert

(1986:216) studied the food and nutrition in central Nepal and observed that 62% of the total weight of the food-items consumed was shared by the cereals that contributed to almost 90% of the total calories. Food-stuffs consumed in various ceremonies included the legumes, green vegetables, roots, rhizomes and tubers, fruits and seeds, etc., holding the already established nutritional virtues. Ceremonial food-habit, therefore, appears to be a step towards nutrition, on religious grounds. However, most of these ceremonial foods are eaten as a mere custom in particular ceremonial days alone, irrespective of the optimum dose, their critical scientific evaluations in relation to the dosage and course on hygienic grounds is most desirable.

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THE DIVERGENT APPROACHES OF IRDPS AND PROBLEMS OF IMPLEMENTATION IN NEPAL

Soorya Lal Amatya

Introduction

A series of programme designed to accelerate multi-facet development of regions or areas were implemented in different parts of the world in the past. The multi-purpose river valley projects like the Tennessee River Valley Authority in the U.S.A. can be cited as a pioneering project in early 1930's. The Rapti Valley Development Project in the central inner Terai of Nepal initiated in mid-1950's was also basically an area development programme although resettlement was the main objective with an effective malaria eradication programme. An initiation of integrated rural development programme could be traced back to mid 1970's when the Bicol River Basin Development Programme was launched in the Philippines (Rondinelli 1979 and Koppel 1987).

The integrated rural development programmes with multi-sectoral approach appeared very sound and a series of such IRDP's have been designed and are being implemented in Nepal. Among the most of the appraisal and evaluation reports I have reviewed, Rasuwa-Nuwakot Integrated Rural Development has been generally referred as the first IRDP in Nepal. Rasuwa Nuwakot IRDP (later termed as RASNU DEV) was launched only in 1976 whereas Integrated Hill Development Programme (IHDP) was designed and implemented in 1974. So in fact, IHDP, in my opinion, should be considered as the first integrated rural development programme in Nepal.

The IRDP's in Nepal are generally designed with long term perspective ranging from 15 to 20 years of development programmes and are conceived of three distinct phases. The first phase is of infrastructure building and programme initiation. The second phase is of intensive implementation of the projects and strengthening of local institutions. The third phase is of handing over the responsibility to the concerned district line agencies and the completion of the major construction scheme (Pradhan 1985). Keeping in view, the very slow rate of implementation of development programmes in Nepal,, the five years of first phase has been experienced inadequate for

implementation of the programmes as visualized in the project document. So Rapti and RASNU DEV IRDPs have been redesigned of eight years for the second phase (Amatya 1988).

All of these ten IRDP's have been designed and launched mainly with bi-lateral or multi-lateral agencies (Table I). Currently IRDP's have covered 32 districts out of 75 districts in the country and are in the different phases of implementation (Table II). These IRDPs differ considerably in terms of area coverage. Dhading IRDP (DDDP) covers one district of Bagmati Zone whereas Rapti IRDP covers the entire five districts of Rapti Zone in Mid-western Nepal.

Table I
INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN
NEPAL

	Project	Coverage km Area in Sq. Km	Population	Major Financer	Commence- ment Year
1.	Rasuwa-Nuwakot (Rasnu Dev)	2,458	2,32,899	IDA/UNDP	1976
2.	Integrated Hill Development Project (IHDP)	2,200	2,10,000	DEH (Swiss)	1974
3.	Sagarmatha	4,779	8,86,016	ADB/IFAD/EEC	1978
4.	Kosi Hill Area (KHARDEP)	6,335	5,54,000	ODA (U. K.)	1979
5.	Mahakali	5,300	3,46,662	IDA/UNDP	1979
6.	Rapti	10,515	8,50,000	USAID	1980
7.	Karnali-Bheri (KBIRD)	7,569	4,00,000	CIDA	1981
8.	Dhading District Development Project (DDDP)	3,000	2,80,500	GTZ	1983
9.	Seti	12,300	8,00,000	ADB	1986
10.	Mechi Hill Irrigation and Related Development Programme		4,47,468	SNV (Dutch)	1986
11.	Lumbini Project (Proposed)		15,71,499	JICA (Japan)	

Table II

INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN NEPAL

(IRDP - STATUS)

	Project	District	Phase I	Phase II	Phase III
1.	Rasuwa-Nuwakot	2	1976-1983	1984-1985	1985-1983
2.	IHDP	2	1974-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990
3.	Sagarmatha	3	1978-1985	1986-	
4.	Kosi (KHARDEP)	4	1977-1979	1979-1985	
5.	Mahakali	3	1980-1985	1986-1990	
6.	Rapti	5	1980-1985	1988-1996	
7.	Karnali-Bheri	3	1981-1985	1985-1990	
8.	Dhading	1	1983-1985	1985-1990	
9.	Seti	5	1986-		
10.	Mechi Hill Irrigation and related development programme	3	1986		

Almost all the IRDP's have specifically mentioned objectives of enhancing rural farming production generating rural employment opportunities, strengthening of local institutions and improving on environmental situation.

The IRDP's in Nepal are designed mainly for general rural development and unlike in India these IRDP's are not oriented to certain target groups of population. In that sense, all the IRDP's are basically are development programmes.

This paper deals mainly with two important issues of IRDP's in Nepal, first, the approaches adopted by IRDPs in delivering services and disseminating development messages and second, the problems confronted by IRDP's in their implementation.

Approaches

At present ten IRDP's are in different phases of implementation. Two IRDP's are in the third phase; six IRDP's in the second phase; and two IRDP's in the first phase. All the integrated rural development programmes in Nepal have invariably incorporated multi - sectoral integrated approach. While framing IRDP's, all of these have been planned to improve all the sectors of the economy. The multi-sectoral integrated approach seems to be sound in principle but there are serious limitations of integration of the development programmes in actual implementation in a country like Nepal,

where co-ordination between line agencies at national, district and local levels is lacking. In fact, lack of efficient co-ordination between IRDP projects and the government line agencies has also been reported as serious constraints in the implementation of the development programs. So, in the second or third phases of these IRDPs serious thoughts have been given to redesign the IRDPs to focus mainly on the productive sectors of agriculture, forestry, livestock and strengthening of local institutions. Most of the IRDP's are designed differently programme-wise and have adopted different approaches of implementation.

Tuki System

IHDP has maintained tuki system of voluntary field agents in the implementation of integrated rural development programmes. The concept of tuki system is that the villagers are in darkness and if provided with some light they can easily find their way themselves towards development of their way of live. The tuki volunteers are the local people engaged in farming, trade and other occupations. They usually disseminate development activities by distributing improved seeds, fertilizers and tools and maintain demonstration farms. They get 20 percent commission out of the total sale of agricultural inputs and the project subsidies of the transport cost. Despite the constraints, the tuki system has proved effective in reaching the people at the grass roots. They are accountable to themselves as well as to their neighbours. The tuki system of voluntary field agents is generally considered as a good innovation suited to the Nepalese situation (IDS 1982).

System of Field Assistants

RASNU DEV and IRDP, on the other hand, have relied entirely on the field assistants of the district line agencies in reaching to the people at village level. The field assistants like Junior Technicians (J.T.) and Junior Technical Assistants (J. T. A.) are the government employees and are supposed to manage the delivery of services and dissemination of agricultural inputs in the rural areas. These field assistants being outsiders are not generally trusted by the local people, and they have somewhat bureaucratic attitude. Their overall performances have not been so effective in carrying out the development programmes.

This approach of operation through the field assistants of the district line agencies have been adopted by Sagarmatha IRDP, Mahakali IRDP and Seti IRDP.

Integrated Village Development (IVD)

Although KBIRD project also operates through the field level extension workers of district line agencies, it has a unique provision of Integrated Village Development (IVD). The concept of IVD incorporates the group formation at village level. These village level groups are expected to interact or dialogue with the district line agencies

regarding village level development programmes. According to a study (Veit 1984), the concept of IVD has not yet been put into operation and the village level people are not involved in the management of development activities.

Local Private Enterprises

The Rapti IRDP suffered from a number of constraints and the implementation of development programmes was not satisfactory. The study has obviously indicated that the construction materials and agricultural inputs could not be transported and delivered on time through the semi-government organization like Agriculture Inputs Corporation in Rapti Zone. As consequence, the construction of projects was much delayed and the implementation of development programmes suffered considerably (PADCO 1985). In the second phases of Rapti Project, it has been aimed to emphasis on development of local private enterprise for delivery of services and agricultural inputs.

The Confidence Building Measure

Unlike other IRDP's, Dhading Project (DDDP) was designed differently and has adopted entirely different approach in the implementation of rural development programmes in Dhading district. The confidence building measures at ward (sub-village Panchayat) level is a unique approach of motivating rural people to organize plan and implement the small development schemes and generating confidence of the people to Dhading project. Under the program of confidence building measure Rs. 25,000 has been granted to all 450 wards in Dhading district for completion of small schemes which, the villagers think, will serve their felt need and their first priority. In the process of final selection of the scheme, it is left entirely to their decision. According to a sample evaluation conducted by the Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development in 1984, most of the small schemes were completed on time and in the process the villagers learned much about planning and implementing small development activities (DDDP 1985).

Dhading project has been designed on process approach rather than project approach. The project document incorporates no physical targets but focuses mainly on setting in motion, a process of development. The project as such aims at strengthening the district and local level institutions.

Irrigation System Approach

Mechi IRDP also appears quite different in its design and the whole project is largely based on hill irrigation system. The other development activities are incorporated to supplement the hill irrigation system for achieving rural development in the three districts of Mechi Zone. It has plan to construct about 50 small irrigation projects in Ilam, Panchthar and Taplejung districts of Mechi Zone. The focus has been on

development of irrigation facilities and it is assumed that it will contribute substantially to all round development of the districts.

Gaun Sallah (Village Dialogue)

While reviewing other development programs, I have found a few other approaches being used to mobilizing rural people to development activities at village level. The Resources Conservation and Utilization Project has used Gaun Sallah (Village dialogue) as the way of creating awareness among the rural people. The main focus seems make rural people more aware of the problems of rapid deforestation and proper management of forest. The rural people, however, were not involved in a way of participation in afforestation and forest management.

Mechanism of Group Organizers

Small Farmers Development Programme (SFDP) has been operating through the mechanism of group organizers at the village level. The group organizers are basically employees of Agriculture Development Bank (ADB/Nepal). Their main functions are to help organize homogeneous groups of small, marginal and landless farmers and furnish them with information regarding credit loans from ADB/N as well as from other commercial banks (Sah 1985, Maharjan, Loohawanchat and Mayer 1983 and APROSC 1987). The group approach and group liability for credit loans are the main components of SFDP philosophy. It is generally assumed that through such groups improvement in sanitation, school, health and family planning can be expected. Group organizers can stimulate rural people towards such improvements. But their role does not seem to be so effective in making repayment of credit loans. According to sample study, the percentage of repayment rate comes to about 28 percent per annum (Maharjan 1983).

Lami (Match maker) Approach

It will be quite relevant to mention here the concept of "Lami" used in a participatory action research for rural development and energy planning in Nepal, Bangladesh and Bhutan. According to this concept the research team members are Lami (match-maker). They are, in fact, facilitatory who help villagers integrate their values, knowledge perceptions with relevant information and outlook on development opportunities; they pursue in dialogue with villagers as participants by living in villages and support them in organizing and management of productive and equitable use of resources and available technology (Bajracharya, Morse and Pongsapich 1987). Such Lami approach was experimented in a number of selected villages of three countries and quite a number of rural projects were planned and implemented by villagers themselves. Such approach may sound very good in principle, but how far it can be feasible in terms of manpower and resources on extensive rural development programme like IRDP's is still questionable.

National Development Services (NDS)

The National Development Service that was initiated in early 1970' in Nepal also had the objectives of orienting the students to the rural life and problems of the country and to help the villagers in designing and of implementing small rural development activities. All the degree-level students of Tribhuvan University had to live and provide services for ten months in one of the villages. The NDS was incorporated as a compulsory component in the academic curriculum. Beside teaching at one of the schools, the NDS students helped greatly in mobilizing local as well as the external resources for implementing the small rural project like, rural drinking water schemes, irrigation, school building, wooden bridges, literacy classes, sanitation and family planning programmes. In the whole process, the NDS students were simply the development agents and the major decisions were made by the village Panchayats or by a committee of the villagers. The NDS programme was service-oriented and very productive. The NDS programme was initiated in 1973 as a pilot project and later was introduced as full-fledged programme in 1974. It was continued for a number of years as the most successful and stimulating programme in creating awareness and development attitude among the rural people.

The benefit ratio per students to the cost measured in terms of gross investment was about 1.43. That is the NDS programme contributed about 43 percent more in return compared to the total gross investments in the programme. (Pradhan 1978). This estimation, however, has not incorporated the non-quantifiable items like eradication of social evils, propagation of the family planning programme, public health education, literacy campaign etc.

In context of expanding rural development programmes in Nepal, the NDS can be redesigned and implemented in a better way as development agents in the rural areas. In my opinion, financial resource is not a constraint in reviving the NDS programme. But because of political implications, the government seems to be hesitant and has adopted a go-slow policy. This is obviously a glaring example of lack of political commitment for continued support to a successful programmes that aimed at rural upliftment. My main contention here is to highlight a fact that we have not given much thought and due consideration in incorporating some of our own experiences while designing and implementing the rural development programmes in Nepal.

Problems of Implementation

Nepal as a land-locked and mountainous country is seriously handicapped and lack a good network of transportation. These are generally considered as constraints for the rapid economic development. When we view critically the processes of implementation of rural development, we get the general impression that the development activities in the country move very slowly. This becomes quite obvious

when we take into consideration the rate of investment of development budget as a whole in the country. According to an estimation, the utilization of the foreign aid commitment in Nepal was about 51.2 percent of the total committed amount in a five-year period from 1981/82 to 1985/86 (Ministry of Finance 1987). Effort is made here to identify and analyse some constraints that can be overcome with a proper management of the processes involved.

One of the main reasons for slow rate of implementation of IRDP's in Nepal is the long delay in disbursement of budgetary fund to the district. The field observation in Dang and Salyan districts of Mid-western Nepal in 1987 has substantiated that the first trimester budget disbursement reached to the district in the month of December as against the scheduled date of September. There is a practice of granting some advance fund in the month of September which is mainly used for staff pay and administrative expenses. Funds for development activities or programmes are not available unless the first trimester budget disbursement reaches to the district. As a consequence, the initiation process of annual development programmes are much delayed and obviously become difficult to complete the annual development projects within the fiscal year. The district line agency or project office also find it difficult to submit the financial statements to district treasury office on time. This sort of situation leads to a vicious circle of delayed disbursement of budgetary fund, late initiation of the development programmes and delayed submission of the financial statement. The net result of which is the low rate of implementation of programme under IRDP's.

When we review carefully the implementation of development programmes in a district, the large proportions of the programmes remain incomplete at the end of the fiscal year. The incompleting programmes or projects need to be incorporated in the next fiscal year.

In a major sector like agriculture in Salyan district, the disbursement of the total appropriated budget for 1985/86 was of about 56 percent and the actual expenditure was of about 54.5 percent of the total budget. The disbursement of the total appropriated budget in case of Soil and Water Resources Conservation was almost 100 percent but the actual expenditure was only 78 percent of the total disbursed amount (Amatya 1987). According to the progress report of the projects under the Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development for the Year 1985/86, the progress of implementation in terms of percentages ranged from 47.42 percent in Rukum district to 49.79 percent in Pyuthan district. The percentages of progress in case of other districts of Rapti Zone were 14.84 percent in Rolpa district, 20.45 percent in Salyan district and 25.49 percent in Dang district. So in my opinion, the delayed disbursement of budgetary fund is the first reason for the very poor rate of implementation of IRDP's in Nepal. To overcome this constraint, the mechanism of disbursing the appropriated budgetary fund from the

Ministry of Finance to the district line agencies need to be improved and expedited. As provided in Decentralization Scheme, the accounting as well as auditing processes are also to be strengthened. The performance of the development programmes are to be regularly supervised and monitored.

Secondly, the shortage of the technical manpower has been a problem faced by all IRDP's. The co-ordinators and other administrative staff are also frequently transferred from one project to another and from project to central offices. The shortage of experienced technical manpower cannot be solved easily but the frequent transfer of technical and administrative staff can at least be halted for reasonable period of time.

Thirdly, field allowances in most cases are inadequate and vary considerably between the staff under the foreign assisted project and the district line agencies. The differential field allowance make the technical and administrative field staff of the line agencies demoralised and they take very little interest in carrying out their office responsibilities. Adequate field allowances are to be provided to all the field staff.

Fourthly, the co-ordinations between different ministries at the national level and among district line agencies at the district level are lacking. The Ministry of Panchayat and Local Development (MPLD) has been designated as the main co-ordinating and implementing agency in case of IRDS's in Nepal. The Local Development Officers (LDO's) are attached to the MPLD. The LDO's as secretaries to the District Panchayats are entrusted with the responsibility of co-ordinating all the development programs in the districts. According to the provision of decentralization scheme, all the district-level development offices are supposed to be under the umbrella of district Panchayat secretariat. But in reality, the horizontal linkage among the district line agencies seems to be very weak. The LDOs have no administrative authority over staff of other line agencies. The traditional vertical linkages of these line agencies to their central ministries are still quite strong. The administrative as well as technical staff of district line agencies depend on their concerned central ministries for their promotion and transfer. The development funds also are as usual channelled through their ministries. The district Panchayat secretariat, in fact, has no say so far the promotion and transfer of the line agencies staff are concerned.

The Chief District Officers (CDO's) have comparatively more administrative authority in the district than LDO's. In most of the districts, CDO's, LDO's and the officers of the leading line agencies are of the same second class gazetted level and all of them have a strong feeling of their ranks. In such situation, LDOs are not so much effective in co-ordinating all the development activities. Frequently misunderstanding between CDO and LDO make it very difficult for co-ordinated action.

Fifthly, integrated multi-sectoral approach appears very impressive in principle but very difficult to put into operation in a developing country like Nepal. Even in case of a well designed integrated project of the Bicol River Basin Development Programme in the Philippines, integrated approach has been seriously questioned as a viable approach for implementation of rural development programmes (Kopel 1987). Most of the evaluation reports of IRDP's in Nepal have indicated failures in the application of integrated approach. Leading sectoral agencies were not seriously involved in the implementation of sectoral components of IRDP's. Leading sectoral agencies like Department of agriculture, Department of forestry, Department of irrigation and Department of cottage industries were not seriously involved in Kosi Hill Area Rural Development Programme (KHARDEP). The major programmes could not be implemented under KHARDEP because of lack of co-ordination between the project and district line agencies. In the management of development programmes under KHARDEP, the local institutions were completely ignored in the past, which created a feeling among local people that the decisions were usually made by the members of U.K. technical team. The district level line agencies were not even consulted. As a consequence, the productive sectors like agriculture and cottage industries recorded very little progress of implementation. Now most of the IRDPs have been redesigned and adopted sectoral approach. The focus have been mainly on productive sectors like agriculture, forestry, livestock and the strengthening of local institutions like Panchayats.

Sixthly, supervision and monitoring of the on-going projects usually are not done carefully at regular intervals. According to Decentralization Act of 1982 and By-laws of 1984, supervision committees are to be constituted under the chairmanship of the R.P. member of the concerned district. But RP members of the districts have not authority in decision making processes regarding the formulation of periodic as well as annual plans for the districts. As such, they consider supervision committees simply as fault-finding bodies. The district supervision committees formed under the chairmanship of the district R.P. members so far do not seem to be so active and responsive in their performances. Lack of regular supervision and monitoring can also be referred as one of the constraint in the implementation of IRDP's.

Conclusion

Currently there are ten IRDP's in different phases of implementation and cover 32 districts. It has also been planned to extend to further few districts in future. Most of these IRDP's are designed differently and vary considerably in their approaches of implementing rural development programmes. The tuki system seems to be well tested and very appropriate in Nepalese condition. This has been successfully applied in the districts of Dolkha and Sindhupalchok. But this approach has not been adopted by any other IRDP. The concept of integrated village development and village dialogue as

incorporated in Karnali-Bheri IRDP is relatively new and has not yet been fully tested. The confidence-building approach of Dhading Project is yet to be properly evaluated. Privatization of the process of delivery of services and development inputs cannot be viable in the hill and mountain districts unless it is subsidized by the government to a considerable extent. the traditional approach of extending services through the field assistants of the line agencies is much bureaucratized and inefficient in delivery of services. However, a number of IRDP's have adopted this approach in the implementation of rural development programmes.

It seems we have not given much thought in incorporating our own experiences while formulating new integrated rural development programmes. The implementation of rural development programme in a mountainous and landlocked country like Nepal is generally regarded as difficult and is characterized by slow process. The IRDP's are confronted with number of constraints like delayed disbursement of budgetary fund, bureaucratic, administrative linkages, absence of proper co-ordination and lack of sectoral agencies serious involvement in the implementation of rural development programmes. A concerted effort is to be made by His Majesty's Government of Nepal to overcome these obstacles so that the implementation of rural development programmes can be much improved effective and efficient.

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RESEARCH NOTE

गाइनेको सारंगी एउटा माग्ने भाँडो कि नेपाली संस्कृतिको अंग? एक समाजशास्त्रीय दृष्टिकोण

ज्ञानु क्षेत्री

कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन

सर्वप्रथम, मेरो शोध कार्यमा सहयोग प्रदान गर्ने बाटुलेचौरका गाइने समूदाय प्रति हार्दिक आभार व्यक्त गर्दछु। गाइने जाति सम्बन्धि अध्ययनमा विभिन्न रूपमा प्रेरणा र सहयोग दिई प्रस्तुत लेखमा टिप्पणी समेत प्रदान गर्नु भएकोमा मेरो श्रीमान श्री राम ब. क्षेत्री प्रति हार्दिक कृतज्ञता ज्ञापन गर्दछु। यस लेखमा आफ्नो अमूल्य समय र सुभाव दिई सहयोग गर्नु भएकोमा डा. हिल्लीराम दाहाल र डा. पिताम्बर शर्मा प्रति हार्दिक आभार प्रकट गर्दछु। प्रस्तुत लेखको आधार मेरो शोधपत्रको टंक तथा बाइन्डिङ्ग कार्यमा आर्थिक सहयोग प्राप्त भएकोमा शोधपत्र व्यवस्थापन समाजशास्त्र। मानवशास्त्र शिक्षण समिति र कृषि विकाश परिषद प्रति आभारि छु।

परिचय

नेपाल ऐतिहासिक काल देखि विभिन्न जाति र संस्कृतिको संगम स्थल रही आएको छ। यही संस्कृतिको एउटा उपज हुन् गाइने वा गन्धर्व जाति^१। नेपालका गाइनेहरू परापूर्व कालदेखि सारंगी बजाउँदै गीत गाएर गाउँ-गाउँ हुल्दै जीविका चलाउने एक किसिमका जाति हुन्। गाइने शब्द जहिले पनि 'माग्ने', 'तल्लो', 'अछुत', जस्ता विशेषणले परिभाषित भएको छ। यिनीहरूलाई 'विशेष जातका माग्ने गायक' (टर्नर, १९३१: १३८), 'तल्लो जातका सदस्य' (बालिङ्गर र बज्राचार्य, १९६०: ३९८), 'सारंगी बजाई गीत गाउँदै घुमी-घुमी मागेर जीविका गर्ने जाति' (जवाली, २०४०: १९८), 'एक किसिमको सारंगी बजाएर घर-घर हुली मागी खाने जाति विशेष' (शर्मा, २०२३: १८४) भनेर परिभाषित गरिएको छ। बि.सं. १९७० मा जंगबहादुर राणाको मुलूकी ऐनले परंपरागत सामाजिक मूल्य तथा मान्यता कायम राख्न वर्णाश्रम व्यवस्थाको आधारमा नेपालका सबै जातिहरूलाई चार वर्ण छत्तिस जातमा विभाजन गरेको थियो। यस अन्तर्गत पाँच भागमा विभक्त नेपाली समाजको सबैभन्दा तल्लो 'पानी नचल्ने छोई छिटो हाल्नु पर्ने' समूहमा गाइनेहरूलाई राखिएको थियो^२।

नेपालमा गाइने जाति बारे अध्ययन शुरू भएको तीन दशक मात्र भयो र यसको शुरुवात पनि विदेशीहरूबाट नै भएको थियो। सर्वप्रथम ए.ए. बाकेले बि.सं. २०१३ मा गाइनेहरू बारे अध्ययन गरेका थिए। त्यसपछि ए. डब्लु म्याकडोनाल्ड, मिरेय यल्फर, कोर्ने जेष्ट, मार्क ग्यार्वोरियोले यिनीहरू प्रति आफ्नो चाख देखाए^३। यी विदेशीहरूको अध्ययन विशेष गरी गाइनेको गीत र डिस्क रेकर्डहरूमा केन्द्रित थियो र केही परिचयात्मक थिए। नेपालीहरूमा पनि गाइनेको सारंगी, गीतको संकलन र विश्लेषण पक्षले विशेष महत्त्व पाएको छ (थापा, २०३०, २०३२, दर्नाल, २०४१, २०४५, पराजुली, २०३७)। मित्रसेन र धर्मराज थापाका प्रथम चरणका

गीतहरू गाइने द्वारा प्रेरित थिए। धर्मराज थापाले गाइनेको गीतको मौलिकता र नेपालको मौखिक साहित्यको संरक्षण गर्ने कार्यमा यो जातिको देनलाई प्रकाशमा ल्याइदिए। यिनले गाइनेका भ्याउरे गीतहरूलाई रेडियोमा प्रवेश गराइ आधुनिक रूप दिए। यो जातिको सामाजिक - आर्थिक अवस्थाको विस्तृत अध्ययन कमै भएको छ र भएका केही पनि यिनीहरूको जीवन पद्धती र संस्कारहरूमा बढी केन्द्रित छन् (शर्मा न. २०३३, शर्मा के. २०३४, पाँडे, २०३८, शर्मा. चो. २०३९)। श्री ५ को सरकार श्रम तथा सामाजिक कल्याण मन्त्रालयले पिछडिएका र कमजोर अवस्थामा रहेका जातिहरूको सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक सर्भेक्षण गर्ने सिलसिलामा आर्थिक वर्ष २०४०/४१ मा गरेको गाइने जाति सम्बन्धि अध्ययन उल्लेखनीय छ^४। तर सारंगीलाई एउटा माग्ने भाँडो वा साधनको र गाइनेलाई विशेष कृपाका पात्रको रूपमा नहेरी नेपाली संस्कृतिको एउटा महत्वपूर्ण अंग र यसलाई जोगाई राख्ने प्रतिनिधिको रूपमा आत्मसात गर्ने अध्ययन पक्षको भने अझै कमी रहेको छ।

अध्ययनको उद्देश्यहरू

आजको परिवर्तित सामाजिक परिपेक्ष्यमा गाइने जाति कहिले सम्म मागेर आफ्नो अस्तित्व र सारंगीमा गायन-परंपरालाई जोगाई राख्न सक्लान् भन्न कठिन छ। सारंगी र संगीत जोगाउन गाइनेलाई आफ्नो परम्परागत पेशा चटकै त्याग्न दिन पनि भएन अर्कोतिर उसको आर्थिक-सामाजिक उन्नती उत्थान पनि हुन दिनुपर्‍यो जस अनुसार उसले अन्य मर्यादित र पर्याप्त आमदानी हुने पेशातिर ढल्कन पाउनु पर्‍यो। अतः गाइने र गाइनेको सारंगी सम्बन्धि धारणामा समयानुकूल परिवर्तनको आवश्यकता छ। "गाइने" र उसको गीत "माग्ने" र "तल्लो" जातको पेशा भनेर उपेक्षित नभई गाइनेलाई नेपाली समाज र संस्कृतिको (सबै जातको फूलबारीको) एउटा साभेदारको रूपमा व्यवहारिक र वैचारिक तवरले मान्यता हुनु आवश्यक छ। एकातिर यो संस्कृतिको संरक्षण र सम्बर्धन गर्नु पर्ने र अर्कोतिर गाइनेलाई मर्यादित र खान लाउन पुग्ने स्थितिमा पुर्‍याउनु पर्ने आवश्यकता परस्पर विरोधी देखिन्छन्। अतः सारंगी र गाइनेको "कर्खा"लाई जोगाई राख्नुको साथै उक्त जातिको सामाजिक मर्यादा उकास्ने र आर्थिक उन्नती कसरी गर्ने गराउने र यसको निम्ति कस्ता काम हुनु पर्‍यो भन्ने यस अध्ययनको उद्देश्य हो।

प्रस्तुत लेख बाटुलेचौर पोखराका ३४ घरपरिवार गाइनेहरूको अध्ययन हो। यसबाट गाइने जाति सबैको एउटै किसिमको सामाजिक-आर्थिक अवस्था छ भनी सामान्यकरण गर्न सकिन्न तापनि यसबाट गाइने जातिमा देखा परेका सांस्कृतिक परिवर्तनको रूप (trend) स्पष्ट पार्नु यस अध्ययनको उद्देश्य रहेको छ।

तथ्याङ्क स्रोत

यस लेखमा प्रयोग गरिएका तथ्याङ्कहरू मेरो स्नातकोत्तर शोधपत्र "बाटुलेचौर पोखराका गाइने जातिको सामाजिक-आर्थिक अध्ययन" मा आधारित छ। वि.सं. २०४०/४१ मा गरेको उक्त क्षेत्र सर्भेक्षणमा प्राथमिक तहको तथ्याङ्कहरू पारिवारिक लगत लिएर प्रश्नपत्रहरू भराएर र बृहद अन्तर्वाता विधि प्रयोग गरी संकलन गरिएका हुन्। वि.सं. २०४५ मा पुनः सर्भेक्षणको क्षेत्रमा गई हासिल गरिएको थप जानकारी समेत यसमा समाविष्ट छ।

अध्ययन क्षेत्रको परिचय

गाइनेहरूको बसोबास नेपालको विभिन्न भागमा पाइएतापनि अधिराज्यको सबैभन्दा ठूलो गाइने गाउँ कास्की जिल्ला पोखराको बाटुलेचौरमा अवस्थित छ (सूचना विभाग, २०३१: ३२६)। पोखरा बजारको उत्तरी सीमानामा बग्ने सेती खोला माथि रहेको पक्की पुल तरेपछि बाटुलेचौरको इलाका शुरू हुन्छ। पोखराको एउटा पर्यटक आकर्षणको रूपमा रहेको 'महेन्द्र गुफा' पनि यही इलाकामा पर्दछ। पहिला बाटुलेचौर कास्की जिल्लाको

५९ गाउँ पंचायतहरू मध्ये एउटा थियो। वि.सं. २०३२ मा यसलाई पोखरा नगर पंचायतमा गाभेपछि हाल यो स्थान वडा नं. १६ अन्तर्गत पर्दछ। करिव ३०,००० रोपनी क्षेत्रफल ओगटेको बाटुलेचौरको चार किल्ला यस प्रकार छ- पूर्वमा काली खोला, पश्चिममा पानी ट्याङ्की, गण्डकी आवासिय माध्यमिक विद्यालय हुँदै भोटे घाट, उत्तरमा धार्मी जाने उपल्लो मढीको पानी ढल हुँदै धार्मी खोलाको साँघ र दक्षिणमा सेती खोला हुँदै के. आइ. सिंह पुल, काली खोला र सेतीको दोभान पर्दछन्।

महेन्द्र गुफा जाँदा बाटुलेचौरको हेल्थपोष्ट काट्ने बित्तिकै बाटोका दायाँ पट्टि ४ रोपनी जग्गामा ३४ घरपरिवार गाइनेहरू झुपडी खडा गरी गुचुमुच्च परेर बसेका छन्। यिनीहरूको कूल जनसंख्या १५४ छ, जसमा पुरुषको संख्या ६९ र महिलाको संख्या ८५ छ (क्षेत्री, २०४१: ३७)।

पारंपरिक जीवन

गाइने जातिको परंपरागत पेशा सारंगी बजाउँदै लोकलयमा वीररस, करुण रस, प्रेम रस आदि गरिएका विभिन्न रसका कर्खा/गीत गाएर मानिसहरूको मन पगाली जे दिन्छन् त्यसैबाट जीवन वृत्ति चलाउनु हो। आफ्ना केटाकेटीहरूलाई तोतेबोलीको अवस्थादेखि नै सानो सारंगी भिराएर आफूले सुने जानेको गीत गाउन सिकाउँछन् (थापा, २०३०: १००)। गाउने क्रममा यिनीहरूले मंसीर ताका खला-खला हुल्दै अनाज संकलन गर्नुको साथै विदेशमा समेत पुगेर प्रवासी नेपालीहरूको आँगनमा राष्ट्रियताको भावना पोखेका छन्। म्याकडोनाल्डले गाइनेहरूलाई परंपरागत तरीकामा भिक्षाको रूपमा चामल दिइन्छ भनेका छन् (म्याकडोनाल्ड, १९७५: १६९)। तर यो भिक्षा होइन यो त उनीहरूको चोखो परिश्रमको फल हो र यो चामल मात्र नभई धान, मकै, कोदो, पैसा जे पनि हुन सक्छ। घुमन्ते भएकोले परम्परागत जजमानी प्रथा अनुरूप गाइनेको बिष्टहरूसँगको सम्बन्ध अन्य पेशेवार जातिहरूको भन्दा संरक्षक-ग्राहक (Patron-client relationship) को सीमित घेरा भित्र बाँधिएको हुँदैन। यसो भए तापनि बिष्टहरूको घरमा चाड-वाड र विहा, वर्तवन परेको बेला खानपीनको व्यवस्था हुनाको साथै दाल, चामल, तर्कारी रोटी, पैसा आदि सिदा जस्तो पारेर दिन्छन् पनि। साथै गाइनेहरूले पनि नाचगानको आयोजना गरी चाड-वाड र उत्सवलाई बढी रमाइलो पार्छन्। तगारोमा सारंगी बोकेको गाइने देखे पछि आइमाइ - केटाकेटी, तन्नेरी, बुढापाका सबै कुनै घटना, कर्खा, भजन आदि सुन्न उत्सुक र प्रफुल्लित हुन्छन्।

ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व

गाइनेहरूले मात्र गाउने वीरताको गाथा "कर्खा" हो। ऐतिहासिक घटना र वीर पुरुषहरूको गाथा कर्खाको प्राण हो। गोर्खा राज्यका संस्थापक द्रव्य शाहका पालादेखि कर्खा गाइएको पाइन्छ (दर्नाल, २०४५: १७०) निरक्षर गाइनेहरू श्रुतिको आधारमा मनमा कण्ठ पारेर बाबुले छोरालाई सिकाउँदै कर्खालाई परम्परागत पेशाको रूपमा सुरक्षित राख्दै आएका छन्। यिनीहरूको कर्खा नेपाली दैलो दैलोमा मात्र सीमित नभई प्रवासी नेपालीहरूलाई समेत ब्युँझाउन पुगेको छ। नेपाली फौज विदेशी फौजसित लड्न जाँदा गोरखनाथ, कालिका माई, पशुपतिनाथका भजन गाउँदै पुन्याउन जाने र विदेशबाट युद्धमा विजयी भई फर्किदा सरकारले गाइनेलाई अघि लाएर लिन पठाउने गरेबाट गाइनेलाई शत्रुनी जातको रूपमा लिइएको थाहा पाइन्छ। फौजका निमित्त उत्तेजना दिने वीर रसका कर्खा आदि गीत गाउने र सेनालाई मनोरन्जन दिलाउने काममा गाइनेलाई पृथिव नारायण शाहले दरवारमा प्रश्रय दिनुको साथै शीरमा नैनसुतको पगरी समेत बाँधिदिएका थिए। (थापा, २०३२: ३३६-३७)। नेपाल एकीकरणको महायज्ञमा मनिराम लगायत अरू कैयन् गाइनेले आफ्ना कला कौशलद्वारा राष्ट्रको लागि बलिदान हुन प्रेरित गरेका थिए। वीर फागल गुरूङ्गले गाइनेकै मेषमा शत्रुलाई खत्तम पारेका थिए (क्षेत्री, २०४१: ९३)। हीरा गैनेनीले वि. सं. १९९५ तिर जनरल माथवर सिंह थापाको गुणगानको गीत गाएकी थिइन् (दर्नाल, २०४५: १६)।

गाइनेले कर्खा गाएर असंख्य ग्रामीण नरनारीलाई देशमा घटेका घटनाहरूको बारेमा मोटामोटी जानकारी दिएर नेपाली समाजलाई ठुलो योगदान दिई आएका छन्।

गाइनेको विशेषता

आजको जस्तो रेडियो, टेलिभिजन आदि मनोरञ्जन र यातायात संचारका कुनै साधन उपलब्ध नभएको बेला गाइनेको गीतको विशेष महत्व थियो। ग्रामीण समाजमा मनोरञ्जन प्रदान गर्नु, प्राकृतिक प्रकोपमा घटनाहरूको विवरण दिँदै चर्चा गर्नु, सामाजिक विषमता तथा अन्तर्विरोध, व्यंग र कू-रीतिको उद्घाटन गरी समाजलाई स्वच्छ पार्ने कार्यमा गन्धर्वहरूको भूमिका महत्वपूर्ण छ। समाजमा विद्यमान कूरीतिहरूको आलोचना गर्ने प्रवृत्ति र सो प्रवृत्तिलाई जीवित राख्ने परम्परा गाइनेहरूको सामाजिक विशेषता हो। मौखिक परम्परामा रहेर पनि तत्कालिन घटनाहरूलाई आत्मसात गरी गीत रचना गर्न सक्ने विलक्षण प्रतिभा सम्पन्न गाइनेहरूको विशेषता सम-सामयिक प्रवाह बहन गर्न सक्ने क्षमता पनि हो। रचनाकारको निजी विशेषताको छाप परे पनि गाइनेहरूको गीतमा लोक तत्वकै प्रबलता रहेको हुन्छ र यसमा सामाजिक यथार्थता प्रतिबिम्बित हुन्छ। (अधिकारी, २०४४: ५२)। नेपाली लोकलयका गीतहरूको रेडियो नेपालमा प्रवेश हुनु अघि गाइने जातिको मुखारविन्दबाट यहाँका फरना र खोलानालाको फंकारमा प्रतिध्वनित हुँदै नेपालका विभिन्न भागमा रन्किन पुगेका थिए। गाइनेको जीविकाको साधन लोकगीत आज कलाकारहरूको साधना बन्न पुगेको छ (के. सी. २०२९: ११७-१८)।

प्राकृतिक, ऐतिहासिक वा सामाजिक विसंगति कुनै पनि घटनालाई कर्खागीतको भाकामा प्रचार गरी हिड्ने गाइनेहरूको भूमिका प्रचारकको हैसियतले पनि महत्वपूर्ण छ। अरू कसैबाट सुन्न नपाइने कर्खा र सामाजिक गाथाहरू गाइनेको सारंगीमा एकाएक सुन्न पाउँदा मानिसहरूको मन पगलन्थ्यो। वि. सं. २०४४ फाल्गुण २८ गते काठमाडौंको दशरथ रंगशालामा घटेको र वि. सं. २०४५ भाद्र ५ गते पूर्वाञ्चल क्षेत्रमा गएको भुईँचालेको अप्रिय र दुःखद घटनालाई विगतमा लगेर हेर्ने हो भने, जन संचारका कुनै यान्त्रिक साधन उपलब्ध नभएको त्यस बेला यिनै गाइनेहरूले उक्त घटनाको गीत रचेर प्रचार गरी दिँदा समाजमा यिनीहरूको कस्तो महत्व तथा प्रभाव हुन्थ्यो, सहजै अनुमान गर्न सकिन्छ।

आधुनिक जीवन

कुनै पनि समाज परिवर्तन नभई रहन सक्दैन। हाम्रो देशमा आएको सामाजिक-आर्थिक परिवर्तनको लहरले अरू विभिन्न जातिको साथसाथै गाइने जातिलाई पनि समेट्न थाली सकेको छ। आफ्नो नाममा कुनै जग्गा जमिन दर्ता नहुने भएकोले फिरन्ते भएर आजीवन सुकुम्बासी हुनु अनिवार्य भएका गाइने समुदाय आज आफ्नो घरजम गरेर निश्चित बसोबासको जीवन व्यतित गर्दैछन् (पाँडे, २०३८: ४७)। गाइने जातिले आफ्नो गायन वृत्तिबाट नै जीवन सुखमय पार्ने छन् र नेपालले यिनको गायन वृत्तिलाई सधैं नै स्वागत गर्नेछ भन्ने विश्वासबाट गाइने जातिले हलो जोत्न र बन्द व्यापार गर्न पाउने छैन भन्ने सनद पनि खडा भएको थियो (थापा, २०३२: १३७)। तर आजकाल गाइनेहरू स्वतन्त्ररूपले कुनै पनि पेशा गर्न सक्छन्। बाटुलेचौरका ३४ घरपरिवार गाइनेहरू मध्ये १८ घर परिवारले मुख्य र सहायक पेशाको रूपमा आफ्नो परंपरागत गाउने बाहेक अरू नै पेशा गर्न थालेका छन्।

तालिका १

गाइनेहरूलाई गाउनको साथसाथै माछा मार्न पनि सिपालु हुन्थे भनिएको छ (पाँडे, २०३८:४५)। अतः यो कुनै नौलो काम नभएको र जहिले पनि पहुँच पुग्ने खुल्ला आय स्रोत भएकाले अरू पेशाको तुलनामा माछा मार्ने धेरै देखिन्छन्। मजदूरी गर्नेमा कुल्ली काम, सिकर्मी, मेलापाता हिड्ने, खेतालो जाने, खेत कुर्ने, बारी जोत्ने गर्छन्। खेलोफालो गर्नेमा मौसम अनुसारको फलफूल किनवेच गर्ने साथै बिष्टहरूको फलफूल बेच्न लगिदिने गरेर केही आम्दानी गर्दछन्। साथै अण्डा किनवेच गर्ने, दाउरा खोजेर वेच्ने समेत गरी आय वृद्धि गर्छन्।

तालिका २

शिक्षाको कमिले अरू भने जस्तो जागिर नपाएतापनि केही गाइनेले सांस्कृतिक क्लब, होटेल, रेडियो नेपाल, राष्ट्रिय नाचघर र नेपाल राजकीय प्रज्ञाप्रतिष्ठानमा समेत आफ्नो जातिगत संस्कृति सारंगीमा गीत गाउने र बजाउनेलाई कायमै राख्ने खालका जागिर खाएका छन्। कोही मेकानिक्स काम गर्छन् त कोही पियन छन्। कोही पोखरा नगर पंचायतको पुलिस भई प्रशासनिक सेवामा समेत संलग्न छन्।

बिष्टहरूको निगाह नभएसम्म 'न्वाइ' खान समेत नपाउने गाइनेहरू आज आफ्नै करेसाबारीमा २-४ भाल भए पनि हरियो लाउन पाएका छन्। हेल्थपोष्ट मुनिको ३९ रोपनीको पाखोबारीमा यिनीहरू कोदो, मकै छर्ने गर्छन्^९। आफूहरूले गोरू नपालेकाले बाली लाउन पर्म लाउने र बिष्टहरू कहीं हली बसी जोत्न गोरू ल्याउने गर्छन्। खेती योग्य जमीनको अभाव र भएको पाखोबारीमा उब्जनी धेरै नहुने भएकाले खेती मै निर्भर गर्ने भने छैनन्।

बदलिंदो परिस्थिति, यातायात र संचार ब्यवस्थाको विकाश, अरू जातिमा आएको सामाजिक परिवर्तनले गाइने जातिमा पनि असर पार्यो। सकि न सकि सारंगी बोकेर गाउँदै गाउँ हुल्ने यिनका केटाकेटी अब फोला बोकेर स्कूल पढ्न जाने भए।

तालिका ३

शिक्षा हासिल गर्ने विशुद्ध शिक्षण संस्था स्कूल कलेजहरूमा छुटछातको भावना र तल्ला जातिका केटाकेटीहरू बेग्लै बस्नु पर्ने बाध्यता अब छैन। सबैले समान रूपले शिक्षा हासिल गर्न पाउने अवसर छ।

देशमा विदेशी पर्यटकहरूको बढ्दो आगमनले गाइने जातिको गायन प्रवृत्तिमा पनि असर पारेको छ। पोखराको गाइनेहरू गाउँतिर भन्दा पर्यटकहरू धेरै मात्रामा जाने र बस्ने ठाउँ जस्तै पादी (लेक साइड) तिर गाउन र सारंगी बेच्न जान मन पराउँछन्। यसको मुख्य कारणमा एकातिर विदेशीहरूको नेपाली संस्कृति प्रतिको बढ्दो चाख र अर्कोतिर हाम्रो समाजको, मनोरञ्जनका आधुनिक साधन प्रतिको आकर्षणलाई लिन सकिन्छ। यसबाट गाइने गीत/कर्खामा स्थानीय मानिसहरूको चाख घट्ने गएको महशुस हुन्छ।

तालिका ४

गाइनेहरूले सारंगीमा गाएर नगद र अनाज दुवै किसिमको आम्दानी गरेको कुरा तालीका ४ बाट थाहा हुन्छ। बढीमा ५ मुरी अनाज र रू सात हजार जतिले वर्ष भरिको परिवार खर्च चलाउनु मुस्किलको कुरा हो।

यसै सन्दर्भमा बाटुलेचौरका एकजना बृद्ध गन्धर्व भन्छन्, "पहिलाको जमानामा गाउन जाँदा प्रशस्त धान, मकै, कोदो पाइन्थ्यो, परिवार आरामले पालिन्थे, दुःख धेरै गर्नु पर्दैनथ्यो। बिष्टहरूको घरमा वर्तमान, बिहान आदि चाडहरूमा गइन्थ्यो, ल्याएर मज्जासँगै खाइन्थ्यो, राम्रोसँग चाड मनाइन्थ्यो। २५ पैसा मानो धुँ, एक रुपियाँको पाँच पाथी धान, एक रुपियाँको पाठो आदि पाइन्थ्यो। त्यस्तो बेला जग्गा जमिन केही चाहीदैन भनियो र यस्तै पेशाको पछि लागियो....." १०

परंपरागत गायन पेशा प्रति गाइनेहरूको विचार

बदलिंदो सामाजिक परिवेशमा आफ्नो अल्प र अनिश्चित आय हुने गायन पेशाबाट आर्थिक आवश्यकता पुरा नहुने र सारंगी संस्कृति प्रति सामाजिक अवहेलनाको धारणाले गर्दा तिरस्कृत हुनु पर्ने अवस्था देखि दिक्क भएर गन्धर्व जाति स्वयं पनि आफ्नो पेशागत संस्कृति प्रति विमुख हुन थाले (हेर्नुहोस् तालीका १ र ४)। अहिले पनि बाटुलेचौरका कतिपय केटाकेटी सारंगी बजाउन जान्दैनन्। किनभने यहाँका गन्धर्वहरू आफ्ना केटाकेटीलाई सके पढाइ लेखाइ गराएर ठूलो मानिस बनाउने, नसके खेतीतिर लाउने, सेनामा भर्ती, नोकरी गराउने तर यस परम्परागत गाउँ-घर हुल्दै गाउने पेशामा सीमित भने नराख्ने विचार गर्दछन्। आर्थिक आवश्यकता परिपूर्तीको खोजी, सामाजिक परिवर्तन र आधुनिक जमानामा विकासको तिब्र गतिले गर्दा आफ्नो भूमिका बदलिँदै गएको परिप्रेक्ष्यमा गन्धर्वहरूलेपनि थकालीहरूले आफ्नो जातिमा आपसी एकता कायम गरी आर्थिक उन्नति गर्न ढिकुरी प्रथाको शुरुवात गरे जस्तै "गन्धर्व समाज सुधार सदन"को माध्यम आफ्नो पहिचान (Identity) खोज्दैछन्।

गन्धर्व समाज सुधार सदनको गठन र उद्देश्यहरू

बाटुलेचौरका गन्धर्वहरू मिली आफ्नो सामाजिक-आर्थिक स्थितीमा सुधार ल्याउन र आपसी एकता कायम राख्न नेपाल राष्ट्रिय समाज कल्याण संघबाट उत्प्रेरित भई वि. सं. २०४१ आश्विनमा "गन्धर्व समाज सुधार सदन" (ग.स.सु.स) को स्थापना गरेका छन्। सदनका उद्देश्यहरू निम्न छन्:-

१. वडा निवासी गन्धर्व समुदायका बालबालिकालाई स्कूल पठाउने,
२. व्यावहारिक रूपमा रहेका छुवाछुत प्रथा हटाउन समाज सुधार हुनु पर्ने हुँदा भावनात्मक परिवर्तन गर्न सदनले कोषको व्यवस्था गरी होटल संचालन गर्ने,
३. अति नाजुक रूपको आर्थिक अवस्था भएका र दैवी प्रकोपमा परेकालाई विभिन्न रूपमा सहयोग गर्ने,
४. भावनात्मक परिवर्तन ल्याउन वर्षमा बढीमा तीन पटक गोष्ठी/सम्मेलनको आयोजना गर्ने,
५. जुवा खेल्ने, जाँड-रक्सी खाई हो हल्ला गरी हिड्ने तथा अभद्र व्यवहार हटाउन कदम चाल्ने,
६. जिउँदोको जन्ती र मुर्दाको मलामी कार्यमा समान रूपमा एक जूट भै अनिवार्य रूपमा भाग लिने, र
७. सारंगी सांस्कृतिक योजना संचालन गर्ने।

सदनको उपरोक्त उद्देश्यहरूबाट गन्धर्व समुदायमा आफ्नो गायन पेशा प्रति बढ्द गएको अरुचीको भाव, जाँड-रक्सीको अधिकतम उपभोग र अभद्र व्यवहार जस्ता आपसी समस्याहरू विद्यमान भएको बुझिन्छ।

गाइने जातिको सामाजिक-आर्थिक उत्थानमा गन्धर्व समाज सुधार सदनको भूमिका

वि.सं. २०२१ - २२ देखि नै बाटुलेचौरका गाइने/गन्धर्वहरू वर्षमा एक पटक सल्लाह गर्न भद्र १ गतेका दिन भेला हुने गर्दथे। पछि सदनको स्थापना गरी प्रत्येक घरले तीस रुपियाँका दरले चन्दा दिई आफ्नो टोल

मित्र खाली रहेको भुपहीमा लिपपोत गरी एउटा साभा होटल खोले। कसैलाई मर्दा-पर्दा, सुत्केरी पर्दाको खर-खाँचो टार्न यो होटलको कोषबाट व्याजी ऋण दिने व्यवस्था पनि थियो। चिया, चुरोट, चना, भटमास र रक्सी राखिएको यस होटलमा शुरूमा, प्रत्येक घरले पालो लाएर बेच्ने मानिस पठाउँथे। पारिश्रमिक स्वरूप सो व्यक्तिले दुई गिलास रक्सी (गिलासको तीन मोहर पर्ने) र एक मोहरको भटमास खान पाउँथ्यो। चुरोट भने किनेर मात्र खान पाउँथ्यो। पछि सदनले सो बेच्न बस्ने व्यक्तिलाई मासिक तलब रु. ४५०/- दिने निर्णय गर्‍यो साथै दुई कप चिया पनि खान पाउने भयो। यसरी रक्सीको ठाउँ विस्तारै चियाले लियो। सदनको होटल व्यवस्थाबाट एकातिर पसलमा बस्नेको बेरोजगारी टन्थो भने अर्कोतिर बाहिर हुने खर्च पनि आफ्नै समूह भित्र संचय हुने भयो। वास्तवमा, प्रत्यक्षरूपमा आफ्नो जातिको आर्थिक अवस्थामा सुधार ल्याउने र अप्रत्यक्षरूपमा माथिल्ला जातका मानिसहरूलाई चिया पानी चलाई छुवाछुत प्रथाको व्यावहारिक रूपमा अन्त गर्ने सर्वोपरी उद्देश्यले यो होटल खोलिएको थियो। यहाँ अन्य जातिका विशेष गरी जवान केटाहरू चिया-पानी खान विस्तारै आउन शुरू गरेका थिए। कोषबाट आपतकालमा दिइएको ऋण फर्काउन नसक्दा होटल घाटामा गयो। साथै यिनीहरूको आपसी सहयोग समझदारीपूर्ण हुन नसकेकोले हेड वर्षको कोपिलावस्थामा नै यो होटल बन्द हुन गएको कुरा हालसालै (२०४५) अध्ययन क्षेत्रमा जाँदा गन्धर्वहरूले बताए। उपरोक्त उद्देश्य प्राप्तिमा यो सदन केही हदसम्म सफल भएको थियो।

सारंगी सांस्कृतिक योजना संचालन गरी अरूको घर दैलोमा सारंगी रेटन जान पर्नुको साटो अरू मानिसहरू गाइनेको गीत सुन्न र नाच हेर्न स्वयं टिकट काटी आउने छन् भन्ने यिनीहरूको विश्वास छ।

हरेक नयाँ वर्षको उपलक्ष्यमा बैशाख १ गते कर्मचारी मिलन केन्द्रमा, पञ्चायत प्रशिक्षण केन्द्रमा वर्षको एक पटक र विभिन्न राष्ट्रिय उत्सवहरू जस्तै श्री ५ महाराजाधिराज तथा श्री ५ बडामहाराणी सरकारका शुभजन्मोत्सवहरूमा, पौष १ गते, भाद्र ४ गते आदिमा गन्धर्वहरूलाई सारंगी बजाउन र गाउन बोलाइएको हुन्छ र बाटुलेचौरका गन्धर्वहरू समूहमा जाने गर्छन्।

सदनको होटल संचालनमा व्यवस्थापन पक्ष कमजोर हुनाको साथै पसलमा बस्ने पालो पर्नेले आफ्नो जिम्मेवारी बहन गर्न नसकेबाट सो प्रयास असफल हुन गयो। उपरोक्त कुटिहरूलाई ध्यानमा राखी सदनले कार्य संचालन गर्न सकेमा गन्धर्व जातिमा आपसी हित र सहयोगको भावनामा वृद्धि हुन जाने छ।

गाइने माग्ने होइन, सारंगीमा लोक संस्कृति जोगाउने प्रतिनिधि हो।

हाम्रो समाजमा पहिले देखि नै गाइने जातिलाई 'तल्लो' स्तरको भनी प्रोत्साहन नदिने प्रवृत्ति भएको पाइन्छ। जातिगत पेशाको आधारमा बेग्लै दण्ड सजायको व्यवस्था समेत भएबाट कानुनी रूपले पनि यिनीहरूलाई उपेक्षा गरिएको स्पष्ट छ।^{११} स्कूलको प्रचलनको शुरूवातमा निम्न वर्गलाई समानरूपले शिक्षा हासिल गर्ने मौका नभएबाट यिनीहरूमा आफ्नो स्थितिको ज्ञान हुन नसक्नु अस्वाभाविक होइन। यिनीहरूले सारंगी बजाउँदै गाउन हिड्नु माग्ने उद्देश्य हुन सक्छ, तर समाजशास्त्रीय दृष्टिले हेर्ने हो भने यसलाई 'माग्ने' पेशा भन्न मिल्दैन। किनभने एउटा 'माग्नेले' (वास्तविक अर्थमा) माग्छ मात्रै सट्टामा क्यै दिदैन। तर गाइनेले पहिले आफ्नो सारंगी रेटछ गीत कर्खा गाउँछ अनि मात्र आफ्नो पारिश्रमिक खोज्छ निगाहको रूपमा। तसर्थ यहाँ निर 'लिने' मात्र नभइ 'दिने' अर्थात् give and Take दुवै कार्य भएको छ। साथै गाइनेले जे दिन्छ, त्यो अरू कसैले दिन नसक्ने 'कर्खा' हो। नेपालको मौखिक साहित्य कर्खाको संरक्षण र सम्वर्धन गर्ने कार्यमा गाइने जातिले महत्वपूर्ण देन दिएको तथ्यलाई हामीले कदापि विर्सनु हुँदैन। नेपाली साहित्यको क्षेत्रमा आदि कवि भानुभक्तको

जुन देन छ त्यही रूपको देन लोकगीतको गायन प्रति यो जातिको छ (थापा, २०३०: १०२)। अतः गाइने र गाइनेको गायन पेशा तथा सारंगी सम्बन्धि सामाजिक धारणा (Social prejudice) मा समयानुकूल परिवर्तन हुन अपरिहार्य भैसकेको छ। गाइने र उसको गीत 'माग्ने' र 'तल्लो' जातिको पेशा भनेर उपेक्षित नभई नेपाली समाज र संस्कृतिको एउटा साभेदारको रूपमा व्यावहारिक र बैचारिक तवरले मान्यता हुनु अत्यावश्यक छ। गाइनेको सारंगीलाई अब माग्ने भाँडो वा साधनको रूपमा नहेरी नेपाली परम्परागत संस्कृतिको जोगाई राख्नु पर्ने एउटा अंगको रूपमा हेर्नु जरूरी छ। बाँच्नको लागि आर्थिक आवश्यकता, गाइनेको सारंगी संस्कृति प्रतिको सामाजिक धारणा सञ्चारका बहुत्व साधन र मनोरञ्जन साधनहरूको विकाश र यसलाई सांस्कृतिक अंगको रूपमा प्रस्तुत गर्न र जोगाउन सरकारी तवरबाट कुनै व्यवस्था नभएकोले गाइनेहरूले आफ्नो उक्त गायन पेशालाई छाड्न थाले।

श्री ५ को सरकार श्रम तथा सामाजिक कल्याण मन्त्रालयले पिछडिएका जाति तथा जन जातिको सामाजिक तथा आर्थिक सर्वेक्षण सम्बन्धि अध्ययन गर्ने सन्दर्भमा वि.सं. २०४१ मा लमजुङ्ग, कास्की र तनहुँका गाइने जातिको बारेमा गरेको अनुसन्धानको प्रतिवेदनमा भनिएको छ-

"मानिसले समय अनुसार आफूलाई बदल्न सकेन भने अर्थात् समय सापेक्ष भएर रहन जानेन भने दुःख भोग्नु पर्ने कुरा निर्विवाद छ। दिनानुदिन अगाडि बढिरहेको सामाजिक परिवर्तनको असर गाइने जातिका मानिसहरूमा खास भएको देखिँदैन। यी जातिहरूले आफ्नो पुरानो पेशालाई बदल्ने कोशिशसम्म पनि गरेको देखिँदैन। आफ्नो पेशा प्रतिको जनमानसमा रहेको धारणालाई बुझ्दा बुझ्दै पनि आफ्नो पेशामा खास परिवर्तन गर्न चाहेको देखिँदैन।" (श्री ५ को सरकार, २०४१: २६)।

प्रतिवेदनको सोही पृष्ठमा "अधिकांश गाइनेहरूको मुख्य पेशा कृषि, गीत गाएर माग्ने र माछा मार्नु हो।" भनिएको छ। यदि गाइने जातिमा सामाजिक आर्थिक परिवर्तन नभएको र आफ्नो जाति प्रति जनमानसको धारणाको असर नपरेको भए उनिहरूको मुख्य पेशा सारंगीमा गीत गाउनुबाट कसरी कृषि हुन पुग्यो? साथै पोखरा नगर पंचायत वार्ड नं. १६ बाटुलेचौरका गाइनेहरूको सम्बन्धमा (उल्लेखित कृतिको पृ. ३०) "मजदूरी र माग्ने बाहेक अन्य पेशा जानेको छैन ..." पनि भनिएको छ। मजदूरी गर्नु गाइने जातिको परंपरागत पेशा छोड्न भन्ने कुरा सर्व विदितै छ। अतः गाइने जातिमा सामाजिक-आर्थिक परिवर्तन आउन थालेको लक्षण प्रष्ट देखिने भइ सकेको छ। बाटुलेचौरका ३४ घर परिवार मध्ये १८ घरपरिवार गाइनेहरू अरु पेशामा संलग्न भएको कुरा (माथिको तालिका १) प्रष्ट देख्न सकिन्छ। यसरी सारंगी संस्कृतिलाई नेपाली समाजमा जीवित राख्ने कर्खा/गायन परंपराको संरक्षण र सम्बर्धन गर्ने प्रयत्नको सट्टा सरकारी तवरबाट गाइने जातिलाई "समय सापेक्ष रहन नजान्ने" जस्ता विशेषणको प्रयोग गरिनु वडो खेदको कुरा हो।

सारंगी, संस्कृति संरक्षणको संभाव्यता

सारंगी संगीतको परंपरालाई हराउन नदिइ कुनै पनि गाइने जातिको सामाजिक मर्यादा उकास्नुको साथै आर्थिक उन्नति गर्न/गराउन सकिन्छ। सारंगी र गायन परम्परालाई जोगाई राख्न तालिम र उचित पारिश्रमिकको व्यवस्था गर्न सरकारी वा गैर सरकारी निकायहरूबाट सारंगी संस्कृतिलाई एउटा संस्कृतिको अंगको रूपमा संस्थागत (Institutionalize) गर्न/गराउन सकिन्छ। गाइनेले अरु पेशा गर्न थालेको कुरा माथि (तालिका २) भनियो, बाँकि रहयो गाइनेको पेशा अरूले गर्ने। अप्रत्यक्ष रूपमा यसको पनि शुरुवात भएको भान्नु पर्दछ। किनभने, लोक कलाकार गाइने सारंगी ब्रोकेर गाउँदै नेपालीहरूको घर-घर हुल्छ भने संकलित लोकगीतहरू

विभिन्न कलाकारहरूद्वारा रेडियो नेपालमा गाइन्छन्। यसलाई प्रत्यक्ष रूप दिन सारंगी संस्कृतिलाई संस्थागत गरिनु आवश्यक छ जसबाट यो सबैका निम्ति खुल्ला हुनेछ। यसरी सबै जातका मानिस एकै ठाउँमा र एउटै काम गर्ने भए पछि गाइने अवहेलित हुनुको साटो उसको सामाजिक मर्यादा उकासिनेछ।

विदेशी पर्यटकहरूको र अनुसन्धान कर्ताहरूको समेत गाइने गीत र सारंगीप्रति चाख तथा चासो बढेको परिपेक्ष्यमा गाइने गीतहरूको डिस्क रेकर्ड गर्ने र विदेशी बजारमा पर्यटकहरू मार्फत सारंगी बाजाको लोकप्रियता बढाउन सारंगी उत्पादन कार्यमा जोड दिई विदेशी बजारमा नेपाली सारंगीको खपतमा बृद्धि गर्न सकिन्छ। सारंगी उत्पादन कार्यलाई साना उद्योगको रूपमा प्रतिस्थापना गरी सारंगी बनाउन सिपालु गाइने जातिका मानिसको सुपरिवेक्षण तथा निरीक्षणमा सारंगी उत्पादन तालिम संचालन गर्न सकिन्छ। यसबाट एकातिर विदेशी बजारमा सारंगीको खपतबाट नेपाली संस्कृतिको प्रचार हुन्छ भने अर्कोतिर सारंगी संस्कृति जोगिनुका साथै गाइने जातिका मानिस लगाएत अन्य बेरोजगार अवस्थामा रहेका मानिसहरूलाई रोजगारीको अवसर प्राप्त हुन्छ।

आजसम्म विदेशी संगीतशास्त्रीहरूले जति पनि गाइने गीतहरूको डिस्क रेकर्ड गरे ती सबै विदेशी संग्रहालय र पुस्तकालयहरूमा पुगेका छन्। हामी कहाँ तिनको प्रतिलिपि समेत कतै देखिदैनन्। अतः "..... भाग खानेलाई पूरा पनि छैन" भने जस्तो अवस्था अरु बढी सिर्जना हुन नदिन केही उपाय सोच्नु जरूरी छ। यसको निम्ति गाइने गीतहरूको रेकर्ड गर्ने व्यवस्था कुनै निकायहरूबाट हुन सके विदेशीहरूसँग आफ्नो संस्कृतिका बारेमा सोच्नु पर्ने छैन। साथै हाम्रो संस्कृतिको एउटा महत्वपूर्ण पक्ष त्यसै बिलाएर जान पनि पाउने छैन।

उपसंहार

गाइने वा गन्धर्व जाति नेपाली समाजका एक हिस्सेदार हुन्। यिनीहरूको सारंगीको संगीत र गायन परंपरा नेपाली लोक संस्कृतिको एक महत्वपूर्ण अंग हो। राणाकालमा कानूनी रूपले समेत 'पानी नचल्ने' जातमा वर्गिकरण गरिएको यो जाति प्रति सामाजिक धारणा अझै पनि संकुचित रहेको पाउन सकिन्छ। विश्वको बदलिँदो परिस्थिती, नयाँ मुलूकी ऐनका छुवाछुत हटाउने व्यवस्था, सामाजिक-आर्थिक विकाशको लहर, यातायातको विकाश, सञ्चारका विभिन्न साधनहरूको प्रादुर्भावबाट यिनीहरूमा हुन गएको आर्थिक-सामाजिक परिवर्तनले गर्दा "सारंगी संस्कृति" को संरक्षण र सम्बर्धनमा प्रतिकूल प्रभाव पर्न गइरहेको देख्न सकिन्छ। सारंगी बाजाउँदै घर-घर माग्दै हिंड्नु पर्दा गाइने अवहेलित भएको छ र उसलाई परिवारको खर्च पुर्‍याउन गाह्रो भएको छ। यसरी गाइनेलाई "माग्ने" र उसको सारंगीलाई "माग्ने भाँडो" वा "साधन"को रूपमा हेरि दिनाले नेपाली संगीत संस्कृतिको एउटा महत्वपूर्ण अंग अवहेलित भएको मान्न सकिन्छ। अतः गाइनेलाई उसको परंपरागत सारंगीमा गायन पेशालाई चटकक त्याग्न बाध्य हुनबाट रोक्न, गन्धर्व संगीत संस्कृतिको संरक्षण र सम्बर्धन गर्नको साथै गाइनेको पेशा मर्यादित तुल्याउन सरकारी/गैर सरकारी निकायहरूबाट सारंगी उत्पादन, कर्खा र लोकगीतहरूको सम्मेलन, रेकर्डहरूको निर्माण र "सारंगी संस्था"को व्यवस्थाबाट हुन सक्छ। अन्यथा गाइनेको कर्खा र सारंगी संस्कृति विस्तारै लोप हुने दरो सम्भावना छ। किनभने मानिसका न्यूनतम आधारभूत आवश्यकताले सम्बन्धित जातिको महत्वपूर्ण सांस्कृतिक परम्परामा आमूल परिवर्तन ल्याउन सक्दछ। मानिसका कुनै विशेष परम्परा प्रतिको सामाजिक धारणाले पनि सो सांस्कृतिक परम्पराको महत्वपूर्ण पक्षमा ठूलो असर पार्दछ। गाइने जातिको सारंगी र गायन परम्परा प्रतिको सामाजिक धारणा र उनीहरूको आधारभूत आर्थिक आवश्यकताको परिपूर्तिको खोजीले यस महत्वपूर्ण सांस्कृतिक परम्परामा आउन थालेको परिवर्तनलाई उपरोक्त सैद्धान्तिक आधारमा ज्वलन्त उदाहरणको रूपमा लिन सकिन्छ। यसै आधारमा गाइने जातिले द्विपक्षीय चुनौतीको

सामना गर्नु परिरहेको छ - एउटा छे यिनीहरूको दैनिक जीवनका आवश्यकता पुरा गर्नु पर्ने वाध्यता र अर्को यिनीहरूको सारंगी संस्कृति प्रतिको सामाजिक उदासिनता अझ बेवास्ताको धारणा छे। यसो हुँदा गाइने जातिले आफ्नो सारंगी थन्क्याउनु सिवाय अर्को चारा नदेखेकाले पारंपरिक आफ्नै किसिमको जीवन पद्धती/संस्कृतिमा आमूल परिवर्तन ल्याउन चाहे। अतः नेपाली संस्कृतिको एक महत्वपूर्ण अंग सारंगी संगीतलाई लोप हुन नदिन वा यसको संरक्षण सम्बर्धनका उपायहरू गरिनु पर्छ।

आधुनिक प्रविधि, संचारको विकाशले आज विकाश सन्देशहरू बहुत्व साधन (Mass Media) द्वारा मेची देखि महाकाली सम्म प्रसार हुन्छ। गाइने स्थानीय समाजमा भिजेको हुन्छ र उसले आफू वरपरको समाजको इतिहास केलाएको हुन्छ। हुलेर हिड्ने भएकोले निश्चय पनि गाइनेको सामाजिक सम्बन्धको सेरोफेरो अरू एकै ठाउँमा बसोबास गरी बस्ने (Sedentary) जातिको तुलनामा विस्तृत हुन्छ। अतः जुन रूपले गाइनेले विकाश सन्देशहरूको संचार गर्न सक्छ, त्यो अरू कुनै सन्देश यान्त्रीक संचारका माध्यमभन्दा निश्चय पनि लोकस्तरमा बढी प्रभावकारी सिद्ध हुने हुनाले जन संचारका क्षेत्रमा गाइने जातिको उपयोग बढी सार्थक हुन सक्छ।

तालिका १

गाइने जातिमा पेशागत बिभाजन

पेशा	घरपरिवारकोसंख्या
गाउने मुख्य पेशा	१६
गाउने सहायक पेशा	८
अन्य सहायक पेशा	१०
	३४

(स्रोत: २०४०/४१ को क्षेत्र सर्वेक्षण)

तालिका २

अन्य पेशा अपनाउने गाइने जातिको पेशागत बिभाजन

पेशाको किसिम	घरपरिवारकोसंख्या
माछा मार्ने	८
मजदूरी गर्ने	३
खेलोफालो गर्ने	३
जागिर खाने	३
खेतीको काम गर्ने	१
	१८

(स्रोत: २०४०/४१ को क्षेत्र सर्वेक्षण)

तालिका ३

बाटुलचौरकोल बिन्दबासिनी माध्यामिक विद्यालयमा गाइने जातिको केटाकेटीको संलग्नता

कक्षा	गाइने जातिका		अन्य जातिका		विद्यार्थी प्रतिशत		कूल विद्यार्थी
	छात्र	छात्रा	छात्र	छात्रा	गाइने जाति	अन्य जाति	
१	२	-	५९	६४	१.६	९८.४	१२५
२	३	-	३७	२५	४.६	९५.४	६५
३	२	-	३४	२८	३.१	९६.९	६४
४	२	-	२४	४१	२.९	९७.१	६७
५	२	१	५०	२८	३.७	९६.३	८१
६	२	-	४८	२२	२.७	९७.३	७२
७	१	-	३३	१७	१.९	९८.१	५१
८	-	-	१३८	२५	-	१००.०	१६३
९	१	-	९२	३७	०.७	९९.३	१३०
१०	१	-	७०	२७	१.०	९९.०	९८
जम्मा	१६	१	५८५	३१४	२.२	९७.८	९१६

(स्रोत २०४०/४१ को क्षेत्र सर्वेक्षण)

तालिका ४

गाउने पेशाबाट वार्षिक आमदानी (अनाज र नगदमा)

अनाज (पाथीमा)	घरपरिवारको संख्या
२० भन्दा कम	५
२१ देखि ३०	४
३१ देखि ४०	६
४१ देखि ५०	१०
५१ देखि ६०	४
६१ देखि ७०	२
७१ देखि ८०	२
८१ र सो भन्दा माथि	१
	३४

नगद (रु. मा)	घर परिवारको संख्या
१००० भन्दा कम	२
११०० देखि २०००	३
२१०० देखि ३०००	४
३१०० देखि ४०००	५
४१०० देखि ५०००	६
५१०० देखि ६०००	८
६१०० र सो भन्दा माथि	६
	३४

(स्रोत: २०४०/४१ को क्षेत्र सर्वेक्षण)

टिप्पणी

- १ गाईनेहरू आफू जुनसुकै पदका भए तापनि आफ्नो घरको रूपमा 'गन्धर्व' नै राख्न मन पराउँछन्। जुन जानबाट भरेको हो सो को आधारमा हालसम्म गाईनेहरूका ३२ वटा घर वा पदहरू प्रकाशमा आएको छन्। जस्तै बाहुनबाट भरेका गाईनेहरूको पद ब्रम्हवैकार, ठकुरीबाट चन्द वा मल्ल ठकुरी र कामीबाट विश्वकर्मा गाईने भयो। (हेर्नुहोस् क्षेत्री, २०४१: ३५)
- २ (क) तागाधारी,
(ख) नमासिन्या मतवाली,
(ग) मासिन्या मतवाली,
(घ) पानी नचल्ने छोई छिटो हाल्न नपर्ने र
(ङ) पानी नचल्ने छोई छिटो हाल्न पर्ने (शर्मा, इ.सं. १९७७: २७७)
गाईनेहरूलाई पानी नचल्ने छोई छिटो हाल्न पर्ने समूहमा सार्की कामी, सुनार, हुइके र दमाइभन्दा तल र बादी, पोडे र च्यामेभन्दा माथि राखिएको थियो (म्याकडोनाल्ड, इ.सं. १९७५: २८२)
- ३ अलेकजेन्डर हब्लु म्याकडोनाल्डले "एन एस्पेक्ट अफ द संग्स अफ द गाईने अफ नेपाल (१९७५: ७०) मा चार वटा गाईने गीतलाई रोमन अंग्रेजीमा अनुवाद गरी गीतको बोल अंग्रेजीमा दिएका छन्। सन् १९६१ को अन्तिम तीन महिनामा आफूले संकलन र टेप गरेको गाईने गीतहरू आफ्नो म्युजिकोलोजिष्ट कलिग मिरय येल्लफर्सग मिलेर फ्रेन्च भाषामा अनुवाद सहित संगीत नोटेशनका साथ वीसवटा जति गीतहरू छन्। मिरय येल्लफर्सग मिलेर "सुर अँ सारंगी दे गाईने" (फ्रान्सीसी भाषामा) मा सारंगीको बनावटको चर्चा गरेका छन् (अब्जकट्स ए भोन्ड १९६६: ६(२) १३३-१४२)।
स्व. श्री ५ महेन्द्रको राज्यभिषेकको अवसरमा (इ.सं. १९५६) ए.ए. बाकेले संकलन गरेका गीतहरूको रेकर्ड लण्डनको स्कूल अफ ओरियन्टल एण्ड अफ्रिकन स्टडिजमा राखिएको बुझिन्छ।
ए.हब्लु म्याकडोनाल्डले वि.सं. २०१८ सालमा काठमाडौं उपत्यकाका र वि.सं. २०२४ मा सल्यानका गाईनेहरूको अध्ययन गरेका थिए। फ्रान्सीसी अनुसन्धान कर्ताहरूमा कोरने जेष्टले वि.सं. २०२२ मा, मिरय येल्लफर्ले वि.सं. २०२३ मा र मार्क ग्याबोरियोले वि.सं. २०२३ र २०२५ मा विभिन्न ठाउँका गाईनेहरूको अध्ययन गरेका थिए।

- ४ श्री ५ को सरकार श्रम तथा सामाजिक कल्याण मन्त्रालयले पिछडिएका जातिका महिलाहरूलाई छ महिने कटाइ-बुनाइ तालिम संचालन गरी तालिम अवधिभर खान लाउन र बस्ने ब्यवस्था समेत गरेको थियो। वि.सं. २०४३ मा बुटवलमा संचालित उक्त क्षेत्रीय तालिममा बाटुलेचौरबाट पाँच जना गैनेनी पनि सम्मिलित थिए। तालिम पूरा गरी आफ्नो गाउँमा फर्के पछि त्यसबाट लाभान्वित भएर विना धितोको ऋण लिई केही शीपमूलक काम गर्न सक्षम छेउन भनी १६ वर्ष मुनिका केही र लोग्नेबाट अलग्गै बसेका महिलाहरू ४-५ जनाको समूह गरी सबै जातिलाई एकै ठाउँमा मिसाएर खान-पान, लवाई, बोली चाली सुघार्ने र उनिहरूको सामाजिक स्तर समेत उकास्ने प्रयास भएको छ। यो निश्चय पनि खुशिको कुरा हो। तर तालिम सकेर फर्केका महिलाहरू के गर्दछन् र त्यस तालिमबाट कतिको लाभान्वित भएका छन् भन्न जान्न फलोअप सर्भेक्षण भएको छैन। बाटुलेचौरबाट उक्त तालिम लिन गएका पाँचजना गैनेनीहरू आफ्नो घरदेखि टाढा धेरै समय बस्न नसकेकाले तालिम पूरा नहुँदै फर्केको कुरा सर्भेक्षण क्षेत्रमा जाँदा थाहा भयो। पिछडिएका सबै जातिलाई क्षेत्रिय आधारमा पटक पटक गरी सर्भेक्षणमा समावेश नगरिएसम्म सो फलोअप अध्ययन हुन नसक्ने कुरा निश्चित प्रायः छ।
- ५ थप जानकारीको निम्ति सर्भेक्षण अध्ययन क्षेत्रमा २०४५ आश्विनमा जाँदा एउटा पक्की घर बनेको देखियो।
- ६ दमै, कामी, सार्कीका बिष्टहरू सीमित घर-परिवार हुन्छन् र परंपरागत जजमानी प्रथामा आफ्नो पेशागत सेवा प्रदान गरे बापत वर्षमा एकै पटक पारिश्रमिक स्वरूप बाली (धान इ.) पाउँछन्। तर गाइनेको बिष्ट घर-परिवार असीमित हुन्छ, जसको सामू आफ्नो कर्खागीत गायो उही बिष्ट हुन्छ र आफ्नो पारिश्रमिक तुरुन्त पाउँछ पनि।
- ७ कर्खा गाइनेहरूले गाउने ऐतिहासिक र वीरताको गाथा हो। पृथ्विनारायण शाहको काठमाडौं उपत्यका विजय यात्रा, राष्ट्रिय विभूतीहरू भक्ति थापा, बलभद्र कुँवर, अमर सिंह थापा, भिमसेन थापाको देश सेवा र वीरता, नेपाल भोट युद्ध नेपाल अंग्रेज युद्ध, जंगबहादुरको सबाई, त्रिभुवनको स्वर्गवास, विश्वयुद्धहरू, कोतपर्व आदिका कर्खा यिनीहरूले गाएका छन्। यिनीहरूको कर्खा ब्यवस्था र त्यसका अंगहरू भूमि सुधार, मुलूकी ऐन, गाउँफर्क आदिको सार्थ पूर्व-पश्चिम राजमार्ग जस्ता विकाश कार्यसँग सम्बन्धित पनि पाइन्छन्।
- ८ गाइनेकी श्रीमती : गाइने जातिका महिला सदस्यलाई गैनेनी भनिन्छ।
- ९ बाटुलेचौरको हेल्थ पोष्ट मुनितिर ३९ रोपनीको एउटा पाखो छ। २००७ साल देखि नै गाइनेहरूले यसलाई आफ्नो नाममा दर्ता गराउन खोजेका थिए तर क्षेत्री समाजले गौचरन चाहिन्छ भनेर रोकिरहेका थिए। पछि तत्कालिन अञ्चलाधिश कहाँ गएर सत्याग्रह बसे पछि दर्ता गराउन सफल भए र वि.सं. २०३४ मा कित्ता काटेर लालपूजा पनि पाए। अध्ययन क्षेत्रमा हालै (वि.सं २०४५) मा जाँदा धेरै जसो गाइनेहरूले आफ्नो संधियारा बाहुन क्षेत्रीलाई आफ्नो सो पाखो बारी बेचेको कुरा थाहा भयो (हेर्नुहोस् क्षेत्री २०४१: ७४)
- १० क्षेत्र सर्भेक्षण २०४१ को जन जातिय अन्तर्वातामा आधारित।
- ११ श्री ५ सुरेन्द्र बिक्रम शाहका पालामा बनेको मुलूकी ऐन (इ.सं १८५४)ले अपराधीहरूको अपराधको हद अनुसार भिन्नाभिन्नै जातमा बेग्लै दण्ड सजायको ब्यवस्था गरेको थियो। चोरी हत्या जस्ता अपराधहरूमा एकै किसिमको सजाय थियो। जस्तै कुनै क्षेत्रीले कामीको वा कामीले क्षेत्रीको हत्या गर्दा एकै जरिवाना गराइन्थ्यो। तर करणीको हकमा भने संलग्न ब्यक्तिहरूको (पुरुष र स्त्री) सामाजिक प्रतिष्ठा र उनिहरूको सम्बन्धको किसिमहद अनुसार माथिल्लो र तल्लो जातलाई बेग्लै सजायको ब्यवस्था थियो (बैद्य र मानन्धर, इ.सं. १९८५: २३०-३१)

सन्दर्भ ग्रन्थ-सूची

(नेपाली र अंग्रेजी बेग्ला-बेग्लै प्रस्तुत गरिएको छ।)

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